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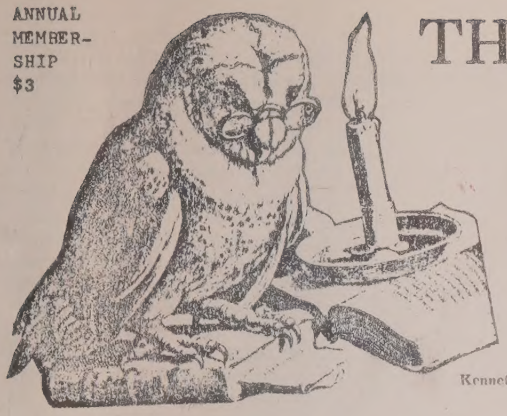

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THE EMERSON SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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HOW TO TEACH EMERSON IN CLASS
MY CLASSROOM EXPERIENCES WITH EMERSON
EMERSON, TO BE TAUGHT
TEACHING EMERSON AT MIDDLEBURY
THE DARK SIDE OF EMERSON'S OPTIMISM
EMERSON AND NATURE TODAY
EMERSON IS EASY TO TEACH
THE UNDERGRADUATE MEETS EMERSON
TEACHING EMERSON
EMERSON AND SWEDENBORGISM: A STUDY OUTLINE AND ANALYSIS
INTRODUCING EMERSON'S TRANSCENDENTALISM TO UNDERGRADUATES
LONGFELLOW'S "HELEN OF TYRE"
EMERSON AND THE MYTH OF NEW ENGLAND'S INTELLECTUAL LAPSE
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL IN GANDHI'S INDIAN OPINION
A GARLAND OF EMERSON LETTERS
THOREAU AND BARZILLAI FROST
JONES VERY AND THE EMERSONS IN HARVARD'S OFFICIAL RECORDS
HARVARD RECORDS OF THOREAU'S CLOSEST COLLEGE FRIENDS
CHARLES CHAUNCY EMERSON'S LIBRARY
MEMORABILIA OF RUTH EMERSON
RECENT EMERSON BIBLIOGRAPHY

[The first nine papers in this issue comprise a symposium, the chairman of which was Carl F. Strauch, Esq., Professor of English at Lehigh University. The arrangement here given is alphabetical by surnames.]

HOW TO READ EMERSON IN CLASS

By RICHARD P. ADAMS

Before students can read Emerson at all, they have to be convinced that he is not a stuffed shirt. One thinks, of course, that by the time they graduate from high school they ought to know that much, but it is not a safe assumption. The first day of class devoted to his work is pretty sure to turn up a clear majority divided only between two undesirable attitudes. There will be those who hate Emerson because they think he has nothing to say to them, and there will be those who love him for the same reason. In this Hobson's choice, needless to say, the second alternative is much the worse. But both are bad, and something has to be done.

There are two texts that I have found very handy at this point: the next to last paragraph in the Introduction to Nature and the poem "Uriel." Both are useful in cracking the shell of temporal provincialism that encases the average student's mind because they prophesy with remarkable accuracy some of the more conspicuous cultural developments of the past century. In the poem, the pertinent passage is the subversive speech of Uriel:

> Line in nature is not found;
> Unit and universe are round;
> In vain produced, all rays return;
> Evil will bless, and ice will burn.

A few cagy leading questions will soon establish the relation of this series of statements to certain theories of scientific and moral relativism which most students regard as peculiarly modern and some consider still to be subversive. It will do no harm to certify Emerson to the latter as a dangerous man.

The part of Nature that hits the same nerve is the sentence where Emerson proposes, as phenomena for science to explain, "language, sleep, madness, dreams, beasts, sex." I remember vividly the occasion on which Mark Van Doren pointed that list out to me when I was a student. I was tremendously impressed; I went over it forward and backward, rearranged it, combined some items and added a few; and concluded that there must be something in this fellow Emerson after all. This passage is especially useful because of the wide range of specialties it covers. The physical scientists and the sociologists, including the educationists, have already been jolted awake by "Uriel"; now the shock is administered to the language majors, the pre-meds, and the biologists. And almost everyone is interested in sex.

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These, of course, are only gimmicks to clear the ground and help the student get started; every teacher will have one or more of his own. The serious work of reading begins with whatever poem or essay or notebook entry may be first assigned. It will be sure to contain some word or phrase used in such a way that very few students, if any, will understand it. A good example is the word "classification" in the Phi Beta Kappa Address, in the section where Emerson discusses the influence of nature on the scholar. He asks, "What is classification but the perceiving that these objects are not chaotic, and are not foreign, but have a law which is also a law of the human mind?" Classification, he says, is a process of unifying the world in the mind, "and science is nothing but the finding of analogy, identity, in the most remote parts." Classification leads the scholar to realize that he and nature "proceed from one root; one is leaf and one is flower; relation, sympathy, stirring in every vein. And what is that root? Is not that the soul of his soul? A thought too bold; a dream too wild."

Most students will probably agree with the last statement but not, at first, with the rest. They know that classification means separating things, not combining them; that it is an analytical, not a synthesizing, process. Didn't Emerson know that? Of course he did. Well, then why—? And at that point the more clever members of the class begin saying to themselves, "I get it," and explaining to the rest that the whole thing is a kidnap plot to get the word "classification" away from the analytical thinkers of the Age of Reason; a plot which, unfortunately for "romanticism on Puritan soil," was not successful. A good many other words, here and there, are puzzling at first for similar reasons, such as the term "poetical" in the first chapter of Nature. Some of the hydraulic and pneumatic imagery that Emerson uses to suggest the relation between the individual and the Oversoul will call up irreverent visions of spiritual plumbing in technological minds. Some of the words used in their root senses will be partly lost if there is not a Latinist in the class--and how many classes these days lack a Latinist!

What I am suggesting, to cut a potentially long matter short, is the usefulness of the method of close reading, or explication de texte, in even a large-classroom study of Emerson. Naturally the smaller the class the better the method works; it is best in graduate seminars. In a large class only a few short passages can be closely read, but even there, even that little is, in my experience, well worth the time it takes. The students who really ask themselves, "What does that word mean?" will never again be able to suppose that Emerson has nothing to say.

One of the better results of such an inquiry is that the students, or some of them, begin to see the importance of the historical-cultural context in understanding the meaning of a literary work and its relation--what it has to say--to them. They begin to develop a certain amount of historical imagination and historical perspective which will be valuable to them in other studies than that of literature or philosophy. All kinds of things will mean more to them, and mean it more deeply and accurately, if they are able to place one thing in relation to others in the development of a cultural tradition, if they have got the habit of looking for such relations, than if they remain content to accept the latest findings of this or that expert as definitive and conclusive. They will have taken a necessary step toward freedom from the tyranny of the morning headlines, freedom to think for themselves.

Whether or not they will come to love Emerson or to adopt his ideas and attitudes is another question, the answer to which will depend very largely on taste and temperament. These are intangibles a teacher has no direct access to, and perhaps no business to meddle with. The basic responsibility, after all, is on the individual student. But this much a teacher can do: he can make fairly sure that no student passes his course without having realized that Emerson means his meanings with all the dignity of earnest thought, and that earnest thought is required of the reader who would understand him. He is not a stuffed shirt, and what he has to say is to us, if we will take the trouble to hear him.

MY CLASSROOM EXPERIENCES WITH EMERSON

By NELSON ADKINS

In an undergraduate course in Emerson I had carefully explained to the class that Self-Reliance does not so much signify a positive assertion of will in the direction of materialistic desire, as a subjection of the will to "that gleam of light which flashes across [the] mind from within." In that mysterious gleam should lie our springs of action. One man in the class of students to whom I had thus addressed myself took exception to my interpretation of Emerson. Quiet and mannerly, yet very sure of himself, this young man expressed the belief that Emerson could not possibly have had in mind so mystical or intuitive a purpose in using the word "Self-Reliance." I stated my disagreement with the student, and we promptly let the matter drop. But the young man's ultimate reply, calculated to put an end, once and for all, to the controversy, was presented to me on his final examination. Here he told how, on the basis of his having read Emerson's famous essay, he went straight to the boss and asked for a raise. His self-reliance had paid off well.

This anecdote serves to bring into focus certain of the problems I have encountered in teaching Emerson at the undergraduate and graduate levels. The average student, I have discovered, does not take too kindly to Emerson; and over a period of some thirty years that I have been trying to teach him, the interest in the Master has been very slowly but, I feel, perceptibly declining. Any attempt, from Emerson's point of view, to deal with the Over-Soul is met with varying degrees of indifference or hostility--attitudes that stem from a deep-seated dislike of anything that cannot be measured in terms of the materialistic, the positivistic, or obviously pragmatic. Metaphysical idealism is at best a part of the "ancient" history of philosophy. And many students lack sufficient intellectual curiosity to throw themselves back into an earlier age, and, even for a moment, to entertain a metaphysical point of view sympathetic to a clear understanding of Emerson.

Now I have been describing facts related to my own teaching of Emerson, which has been confined

mainly to a metropolitan university. It could well be that in college areas where Megalopolis exerts a less powerful sway students are more likely to discover in Emerson an invigorating intellectual stimulus. Of course, I frankly admit that I have had, through the years, some students in whom I believe I have aroused an interest in Emerson--ones who have really appreciated whatever I have had to give by way of instruction. I say this for the benefit of certain of my former students who may read these lines.

In describing my all but futile attempts to break up the apathy toward Emerson in my classes, I shall confine my remarks chiefly to my graduate students. I have found that when students begin any kind of graduate work in Emerson, they have almost the same difficulties in understanding him that undergraduates do. After certain preliminary background lectures concerned with the meaning of Transcendentalism and more specifically with the major points in Emerson's thinking, the first step I take in classroom procedure is to turn to a textual analysis of a number of Emerson's outstanding addresses and essays. Only by so coming to grips with the text does the student, in any measure, learn to master Emerson's central ideas and his modes of expressing these ideas. Another important purpose of this class discussion is to resolve, in so far as possible, the numerous inconsistencies which students fancy they find in Emerson's thinking. Discovery of these alleged inconsistencies springs almost invariably from the student's misunderstanding of some segment of Emerson's thought.

We next take up in the class room various problems of scholarship. I have found that the teaching of Emerson's philosophic backgrounds or sources presents a pedagogical problem of no small difficulty. Though fully recognizing that I am now to tread unpleasantly on the toes of some of my friends and colleagues, I offer the conviction that no single work has as yet treated the subject of Emerson's sources with a view to their proper complexity and interrelations, and that a study of the various volumes and articles explicating the subject, again fails to bring the sources into satisfying perspective. Only Cameron, it seems to me, has fully explored the multiplicity of these sources, but he does not sufficiently evaluate the single influence in relation to other influences. Pochmann's recent book, though, in my judgment, failing sufficiently to acknowledge what I have called the multiplicity of Emerson's sources, does correlate with the principles of German Transcendentalism certain of the Platonic and Neo-Platonic influences. This is a scholarly move in the right direction, though owing to the inherent nature of Pochmann's volume, the discussion of foreign backgrounds is necessarily built around German philosophy. I am pleased, however, with Pochmann's forthright assertion near the close of his section on Transcendentalism: "The question of precisely to what extent Emerson was indebted to philosophy generally and to German philosophy specifically remains, in some respects, an open one."

As my class in Emerson makes its way through these many books and articles on the sources, I cannot help insinuating the question whether we do not need a person highly skilled in the history of religion and metaphysics, rather than an English scholar, to assess the value of these innumerable influences, and, in a way not hitherto employed, to integrate them. In reviewing Carpenter's Emerson Handbook, Stephen Whicher makes the following statement:

> ...If I had been asked to list the general influences that formed Emerson's mental world, in order of their importance, I would have written: the traditions of Protestant Christian thought, and in particular of New England Puritanism; the eighteenth-century influences loosely indicated by the name the Enlightenment; the indirect impact of German Romanticism; and among older influences (not wholly distinct from the above, of course), the Stoic tradition; Plato and Platonism; and, as a poor last, the Orient. I am struck by the fact that Professor Carpenter almost exactly inverts this order, with omissions.

If I say that I disagree with both these orderings of the components of Emerson's intellectual background, it only further points up the necessity, as I see it, of a new study of Emerson's sources undertaken by one who not only possesses a thorough knowledge of Emerson's works, but is equally conversant with the writings of all those thinkers of the past who presumably had an impact on Emerson's mind. My students and I would like to know the answer to this question: Does Emerson's doctrine of "correspondence" come from one source or from several; and, if from several (as I believe), is it possible to state what each source contributed to the concept? To answer this question belongs to an order of scholarship different from that involved in acquainting us with the origins of "Brahma" and "Hamatreya." Frankly, I find the teaching of Emerson's sources rugged going, and here I believe that neither student nor instructor is wholly at fault.

In my experience, a class report does not always produce the best results when presented in the conventional manner. A more effective method is to ask the student specific questions on the assigned book or article, and in this way to bring out the salient features of the piece of scholarship under review.

But in any graduate course the attention of the student, I believe, should early be directed toward an ultimate piece of written work as scholarly and critical in its attainment as the student is capable of. Over a period of some years I have tried at various times two different projects. The first is the editing of a long poem or a series of shorter related ones by Emerson. Thus I sometimes assign to a student a poem such as "Monadnoc" or a group like "Good-Bye," "My Garden," "Woodnotes I," "Woodnotes II." From the start the instructor must give clear-cut directives for the working out of this project. For example, the student's model for the form or layout of his piece of editing should not be left to chance. Campbell's edition of The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe may well be used because of its clarity and simplicity. But it is not enough to tell the student to follow the form employed in a specific model. It is necessary to explain how to select a basic text for his poem or poems. Then, after the basic text has been established, the student is to go about examining other texts for collation. In spite of the fact that I am most emphatic that these texts be those which possess, either directly or indirectly through an executor, the author's authority, the student will sometimes collate his basic text

with some totally unauthoritative text of last year's vintage.

I always tell my student that the notes in the Centenary Edition of the Poems, though incomplete, are often of primary importance to his project and that many of these must be incorporated in appropriate form into the student's own notes--with due credit. But many a student, in editing his poem, has failed to go beyond a few random collations, and a rehashing of the notes in the Centenary. Again specific directives must be given setting forth the types of material for which the student is to search. Let him gather all possible data to throw light on the composition and publication of the poem. This task will lead him at once to Emerson's letters and journals, as well as to the bibliographies of the author. True, in studying the various stages in the development of the poem, the student does not have the manuscript material at Harvard to draw upon, but the notes in the Centenary Edition sometimes contain an early draft that he may study to advantage. If he does a good job, he will further include a summary of the over-all meaning of the poem, as well as explain any specific lines or passages that are obscure. As one will see, a pursuit of the project should bring the student in contact with all of Emerson's works, in an attempt to illustrate how the poem he is editing fits into the intellectual pattern of Emerson's writings. Yes, have the student record in his notes to the poem what others have said regarding sources and influences, and encourage him (though his judgments will usually err) to evaluate these comments. Obscure allusions to mythology, biography, history, etc. are matters for elucidation. Emerson's prosody, as well as his diction, grammar and syntax, are frequently worthy of study. General critical comment on the poem, so long as the comment is significant, should have a place somewhere in the notes.

Now objection will be made that the student is here performing a purely mechanical task in bringing together only what the critics and scholars have said. Indeed, occasionally a student himself voices virtually the same criticism. A few years ago a boy in one of my classes described the whole thing as "frustrating," but this student never saw the light--not even in his dissertation, which was fortunately not concerned with Emerson. What this student, like many others in my classes, failed to see is that, if the project is properly executed, it will entail the examination and use of a large part of the scholarly and critical apparatus pertaining to Emerson. My frustrated student, I fear, simply had no intellectual curiosity. Again I insist that the editing of the poem or poems in the manner I have described should result not simply in a loose patchwork of others' facts and opinions. In wrestling with these facts and interpretations, and in learning to put them together into a clear and coherent whole, the student should have achieved a critical synthesis that surely has its place in scholarship. Also there is the possibility he will make discoveries of importance. I am happy to say that over the period of my graduate instruction I have had a number of truly splendid pieces of editing. One of these the student rewrote as two related articles which were published in American Literature.

But the failure of so many to approach a point of higher synthesis has led me to explore other ways of exposing my students both to Emerson's writings and to Emersonian scholarship. One other project I shall briefly mention. I have sometimes assigned to each student one of the essays of the first or second series. I then instruct him to make a close study of the essay from as many angles as possible. The research procedure is basically similar to that of the other project, but the student is asked to develop his findings in a well-written, coherent and documented paper. If he really knows what he is doing, he will range freely among Emerson's works, including the journals and letters, and he will investigate as much as he can of what has been written on the essay by scholars and critics. The advantage which this project has over the preceding is that students of a certain type no longer feel the "frustration" of having to examine poems of Emerson line by line. But the fatal descent for the student who selects the second project is also easy: he may never move out of the original essay!

I try constantly to remind my class, as I know others must do, that Emerson is still a living author, and that the relatively large number of excellent books and articles about him written during the past ten years is ample evidence of the fact. The students by class report or otherwise must, therefore, make the acquaintance of the best of those books that view Emerson in lights quite unknown before World War II. The class must also be made to know of the currently published Emerson Society Quarterly, which constantly presents fresh source materials relating to the author.

Many years ago a distinguished critic who first introduced me as an undergraduate to English and American literature insisted in class that Thoreau was far more original a thinker than Emerson. For considerably more than thirty-five years I have pondered this assertion; and although during this time I have grown more and more critical of Emerson, I still regard him the greater thinker!

—New York University.

EMERSON, TO BE TAUGHT

By CARL BODE

I once wrote an article--if I may be forgiven autobiography--in which I asked why Emerson now stood in Thoreau's shadow.* During the nineteenth century he did not. Yet today Thoreau ranks first, probably, in popularity with the specialist and first, certainly, with the general reader. And this is true not only in the United States. In Great Britain during one recent year, 1955, there were three separate editions of Walden but none of Emerson.

Of course, Emerson is not being ignored. But he is far from receiving the attention he deserves, and this means that an inquiry into how his works should be taught may have added usefulness. I have given courses in Emerson for some years, both at the undergraduate and graduate level; and I am happy to contribute whatever suggestions I can. I am also willing to admit that I have never taught him to my satisfaction. That is why I am grateful for the sug-

* Treason, of course, and any dues-paying member of the Emerson Society may give me the lie direct!!

gestions of my fellow-contributors.

Because of limitations of space I am going to restrict myself to the problem of the undergraduate course and not the seminar, and to the lecture technique and not the other devices through which a piece of literature may be presented to a class.

I start with the literary work itself, and choose the most well-worn piece of all, "Self-Reliance." I ask the class if there is anything more to his overly anthologized essay than meets the eye. If there is, explication should help to uncover it. In beginning my explication of the text I repeat the comments on the first sentence which were made to me several years ago by Dr. Francis Adams. Emerson says, you recall, "I read the other day some verses written by an eminent painter which were original and not conventional." Dr. Adams pointed out that we are apt to gather only the surface meaning of these words and to pass on quickly. But while one part of our mind absorbs the next sentences, another lingers, piqued and stimulated by the fact that the verses were not penned by a poet but a painter. And they were "original"--an interesting thing in itself, for we always enjoy novelty. What were they? That first sentence echoes below our consciousness as we read further; and we realize after a time, and in discontent, that Emerson will not quote the verses for us.

I do other explications similarly, bowing only to the demands of time and proportion.

Working from the inside out, I go on next to the leading ideas in the essay itself and then to an analysis of Emerson's ideas in general. "Analysis" is a cold word for the cluster of intuitions and attitudes to be found in the essays; I use it because it accurately characterizes something I do. I try to systematize the unsystematic by assembling Emerson's views and categorizing them. I always caution the class that I am doing violence to Emerson in the process. I am afraid, however, that all too often I leave the impression that Emerson was simply a writer who made random attempts at being a philosopher as well.

I construct Emerson's philosophy in simple terms. His metaphysics come first. I describe his dualism, with its constant sympathy for philosophic idealism, and I emphasize the point that one reason for Emerson's being termed a Transcendentalist is that he felt that mind transcended matter. His epistemology is so closely linked with his metaphysics that they are primarily manifestations of the same attitude. Here again I say that Emerson believed that we learn both from experience, through our mundane senses, and through intuition; but that the knowledge we gain from intuition far transcends that derived from experience. I continue with the other categories in the field of philosophy, doing my best not to forget that the students before me have had little work, as a rule, in even an elementary course in philosophy. Ethics, theology and esthetics are the other categories I deal with in some detail. Once more I concede the violence done to Emerson through separating his ideas. But because this separation--like periodization in history--is helpful as a tool, as a step toward greater knowledge, I use it and defend it.

Next I take up the question--not impertinent in Emerson's case--of the source of many of his views. I begin with Emerson at college, using Edgeley Todd's pioneering article, "Philosophical Ideas in Harvard College, 1817-1837" (N E Q, XVI, 63-90), and thereafter I lean heavily on the wide range of research into Emerson's reading that has come from the editor of the Emerson Society Quarterly. In concluding this part of my teaching of Emerson, I offer a warning about being misled by Emerson's reading for lusters. I attempt to make clear that any study of the influences of his reading on Emerson must be made with tact.

Working outward still further, I go on to an examination of the parts of Emerson's life that I believe most useful in helping us to understand his writing. Here I am tempted to spend more time than I should, partly because I allow myself to be persuaded by the class's frequent interest in a life story. From the biography as such, I move lastly to the cultural and social context in which Emerson wrote. I try to refrain from giving a synoptic course in American cultural history, 1825-1875, and concentrate on those parts of it that impinged on his work.

In dealing with the cultural history, I ride a hobby of mine and give considerable weight to the lyceum. After describing its relation to Emerson in general terms, I return to the text of several essays and suggest the ways in which the necessity--and indeed challenge--of the lecture platform affected what Emerson said and how he said it. The lyceum, I am certain, never forced him to alter anything he wanted to say. That would have been both stupid and useless. On the other hand, he used the platform as a proving ground for his essays in the same way that he used small lyceums as a proving ground before he took a lecture to the larger ones. As he himself said, early in his career as a lecturer, "When a village lyceum committee asks me to give a lecture, and I tell them I will read one I am just writing, they are pleased. Poor men, they little know how different that lecture will be when it is given in New York, or is printed." But the most important thing is that the essay was typically the ultimate stage of the lecture. Emerson never described the process as clearly as Thoreau but the method was just about the same. Thoreau observed, "From all points of the compass, from the earth beneath and the heavens above, have come [my] inspirations and been entered duly in the order of their arrival in the journal. Thereafter, when the time arrived, they were winnowed into lectures, and again, in due time, from lectures into essays."

In concluding with a foray into the social context of Emerson's writing, I depend most heavily on the books of Merle Curti. He is, I think, our best social historian. His researches provide me with the largest framework for the study of Emerson's essays and poems. With the lectures to the class on the relevant social history I have ended my efforts at presenting Emerson--with one exception. I finish with some comments on his value for our time, and I describe the virtue as I see it of Emerson's views today. I return to "Self-Reliance" and read its conclusion aloud to the class, with more than usual emphasis. And there I leave Emerson. I have tried to work from the inside out, and I hope I have had a measure of success. Much, however, of what I have

done in approaching his work--and indeed in describing my method here--strikos me as being quite obvious; and so I look, as I said earlier, with the more enthusiasm for illumination from my colleagues.

--University of Maryland. (On leave, American Embassy, London.)

TEACHING EMERSON AT MIDDLEBURY

By REGINALD L. COOK

I

In presenting Emerson on the undergraduate level at Middlebury—a relatively small co-educational liberal arts college—a major problem is communication. The student of Emerson has to hurdle three barriers: ideas, method, and style. First, in a nuclear age he has to hurdle the topical remoteness of Transcendentalism. Secondly, he has to resolve the difficulties in Emerson's structural method that is more dependent upon association of ideas than on logical development. Thirdly, he has to master a style idiosyncratic in phrasing and image, and sprinkled with allusions and paradoxes.

Each year approximately one hundred and seventy-five students, who have passed Freshman English, read the conventionally anthologized selections from Emerson's essays and poetry in the American Literature Survey course. Since the course is presented as a history of ideas, Emerson appears as a key figure on the third important stage in the development of the American mind. Transcendentalism is properly related to the background of Puritanism and Eighteenth-Century rationalism. The culmination of the students' two weeks of lecture and discussion is a two-thousand-word reaction paper on some phase of Emerson.

In general, these students feel the initial Emersonian charge, and they react accordingly, infected by Emerson's enthusiastic affirmation and stimulated by his nonconformistic ideas. They write: "After an hour with Emerson, I feel as though I have spent an hour on tiptoe." Or, "If one has never had a definite philosophy of life...he begins to live in an intellectual whirlwind upon reading Emerson." Or, "Emerson gives me poetry which applies, which fits right into my size-twelve brogans." The reactions vary; they are not all positive. The theologically orthodox student is troubled by the Divinity School Address; the tough-minded science major is confounded by Emerson's "naive idealism"; the literary purist is dismayed by lapses in coherence and shortcomings in unity; and the student of philosophy writes off Emerson as a "theologue." All find Emerson "difficult" in the essays; most require help in the poems.

To obviate the topical barrier, we isolate and discuss chiefly those ideas--conformism, the problem of vocation, the relative importance of nationalist and internationalist, of society and solitude, of books and action, of individualism and collectivism, etc.—which have relevance today. The impact of Emerson's character and ideas on Whitman, Emily Dickinson, Robinson and Frost gives the student a sense of continuity.

To meet the structural difficulty a mimeograph sheet in which the leading ideas stand out in relief is prepared. This enables the student to see that Emerson is not so unsystematic in the development of his thought as it is sometimes assumed. The essays are presented as interrelated wholes, each of which reflects light on the other. Thus, the student becomes acquainted with Emerson's programmatic strategy: his way of seeing in Nature, of thinking in "Self-Reliance," of believing in the "Divinity School Address"; and examines his concept of man thinking in "The American Scholar," of man creating in "The Poet," and of man acting in "Napoleon."

To help the student understand Emerson's stylistic tactic, we define the particular terms he uses, explain his tendency to exaggerate, note how his qualifying words modify without impairing the validity of his conviction, and point out his partiality for the short, jabbing sentence that goes to the heart of the matter.

II

Since we have a separate department of American literature at Middlebury, an advanced course in major writers is offered for upper-class students. Emerson is the chief figure. The aim of the course is penetration in depth. The usual complements are Thoreau, Melville, Whitman, Henry Adams, Robert Frost. This year, approximately five weeks of intensive study is being given to a re-examination of Emerson. An historical and philosophical frame of reference is set up, and Emerson's ideas and beliefs on nature, society, culture, religion, and science are discussed in relationship to the thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The student works from a bibliography, reads in The Transcendentalists, edited by Perry Miller, and reads The Heart of Emerson's Journals, edited by Bliss Perry. The plan of the Emerson discussion is simple. From the "programs" in the early essays, we go on to discuss the inner world of "The Over-Soul," the outer world of "Experience," the world view of "Fate," his theory of poetry and its application in the poems. There is a summing up at the close of the course in which cross-references to the ideas and beliefs of Melville and Whitman--who will be complements to Emerson in this year's course--are made. A three-to-five-thousand-word essay on some phase of the Emerson study is required.

Student response to Emerson in this course is commonly positive. They learn critical detachment. "The lesson I have learned from my re-examination of the essays has been to question Emerson," writes one student, "to hold up his ideas in the light of what I now hold true." They learn to sense his quality. "This, to me, is the greatness of Emerson," explains another. "He is, on the one hand, the dynamic moralist, the merciless critic of the Present; on the other, he is the emblazoned herald of a great and prosperous future, and a gentle spokesman of God in man." They retain a capacity for personal attachment; the power of Emerson as the inspirer of the young remains undiminished. "We have read many works during my course in American literature at Middlebury," says a third student. "Many have been interesting. Others have demonstrated possible truths. But no others have brought me to such a definite decision on how to lead my life as this collection of Emerson's Essays."

III

My aim in teaching Emerson is not primarily to make Emersonian converts but to sharpen the student's ability in critical inquiry and judgment. Emerson has served his purpose--and we have served him well--if, and when, we interpret him clearly, criticize him honestly, and apply him usefully. By "usefully" is meant when the student starts to do some effective thinking on his own. We believe education-wise it is more important to have our ideas and beliefs challenged than confirmed.

What we hope the student discovers in addition to a sense of the integrity of Emerson's own life and character, which we regard of paramount importance, is a three-fold awareness. First, there is the moral philosopher, who, in stressing the moral nature of man, fed his vocation both as a preacher and essayist. Secondly, there is the prophetic national spokesman. "He is," as John Jay Chapman says, "a patriot" who has "America in his mind's eye all the time." And thirdly, there is the poet in personal and mental habits who awaited the inner revelation in and out of his Concord study, and who, while observing and meditating on human experience, felt "an occult relation" between "the very scorpions and man," and discerned "the upheaving principle of life everywhere." Coördination of these three approaches enables the student to see the dimensions of Emerson as man and thinker. The crossroads of culture met in his mind. It was as though he stood at an ideological trade-center of the Orient and Occident, and circulated freely the Yankee transmutation of these wayfaring ideas in nineteenth-century United States. In our times he is still one of the most challenging disseminators of ideas.

--Middlebury College.

THE DARK SIDE OF EMERSON'S OPTIMISM

By ALEXANDER KERN

In writing on some aspect of the teaching of Emerson, I feel compelled to address myself to the problem of getting him read with seriousness, with detachment, and if possible with sympathy. I say this because he seems less satisfying to many students today than he did a generation ago. What the typical bright students today find most repelling is what they take to be Emerson's easy optimism. I am not talking about the liberals who probably prefer the activism of Thoreau, but of the more conservative students who are more impressed by the darker views of Hawthorne and Melville. Because Emerson's answers are not their answers, these young intellectuals do not even see what Emerson is actually saying. So much has the ideology changed.

A successful teaching of Emerson involves many things, all of which must be employed, but I wish to single out one of these especially because I have found it useful in getting him a hearing. My present purpose is to indicate that Emerson's optimism is not easy, but was achieved in the face of difficulties as an answer to his most serious and most painful problems. Of course, I try to show that his optimism is in part an expression of his age. But this works for only the most objective students, while those with a modern sensitivity tend to turn back to Hawthorne and Melville with relief. I also indicate that Emerson's aesthetic theories anticipate some features of a current mode, but there are too many holes in his theories to make this very satisfactory. Probably the best method ought to develop Emerson's challenge to his age--and to ours as well. Certainly the books of Perry Miller's students show that emphasis upon this method has had effect. But most students can not believe that each person can transcend the limitations of his personality by self-reliance, and this doctrine is more offensive to them than is his climbing onto the evolutionary escalator. If this is so, it is because their supine and contented pessimism does not wish to rise to such a challenge. Consequently, I try to emphasize the limits of his hopes and to indicate that his optimism is neither so unearned nor so easy as recent critics have claimed, but is rather the product of a difficult struggle with personal crises of the intensest sort. This is the point, for which I received the first hints from my then colleagues, Hubert H. Hoeltje and Austin Warren, that I wish to develop here by considering Emerson's attitude toward death.

If Emerson saw evil as the absence of good rather than as a malignantly powerful force, this view was at times cold comfort. Not socially expansive in his younger days, Emerson was on particularly intimate terms with his family; thus the loss of his young wife in 1831, of his brothers--Edward in 1834 and Charles in 1836--and of his beloved son in 1841 found him each time bereft. Crushing strokes as these were, they left scars which were never effaced. Each blow seemed like the ultimate deprivation, when absence of good was evil, indeed. No wonder that he worked out a doctrine of compensation.

These disasters left other marks upon his published work. Take Nature, for example. His crisis of 1831-1833, involving the rejection of his old religion and the renunciation of his calling, was intensified by the death of his beloved wife, Ellen, the object of an idealization both lasting and intense. "There is one birth, and one baptism, and one first love, and the affections cannot keep their youth any more than men," he wrote in painful prophecy. (Journals, II, 357-358). And one is appalled to note his statement in the next year, "I visited Ellen's tomb and opened the coffin." (Journals, II, 469). Thus when we read in Nature, "Even the corpse has its own beauty," (Works, I, 16), we begin to put things together and decide that he is not simply making use of a rhetorical example. This is obtimism indeed!

While Emerson's New England conscience amply exposed his deficiencies to himself, his affections probably made him overvalue the worth of his brothers Edward and especially Charles. Of the latter's death on May 9, 1836, he wrote to his new wife Lidian on May 12, "You must be content henceforth with only a piece of your husband, for the best part of his strength lay in the soul with which he must no more on earth take counsel. How much I saw through his eyes. I feel as if my own were very dim." (Letters, ed. Rusk, II, 20). So it is probably of Charles that Emerson was thinking when he wrote in Nature, "In the presence of nature, wild delight runs

through the man, in spite of real sorrows. Nature says,—he is my creature, and maugre all his impertinent griefs he shall be glad with me." (Works, I, 9). Emerson continues, "In the woods, we return to reason and faith. There I feel that nothing can befall me in life,--no disgrace no calamity (leaving me my eyes) which nature cannot repair." (Works, I, 10). The strain with which such optimism was achieved is indicated, however, by an immediate lapse into a very different attitude. "Nature always wears the colors of the spirit. To a man laboring under calamity, the heat of his own fire hath sadness in it. Then there is a kind of contempt of the landscape felt by him who has just lost by death a dear friend. The sky is less grand as it shuts down over less worth in the population." (Works, I, 11).

This was not the last time that Emerson was struck by the blow of death. As a result of developing a new philosophy, of remarrying, of finding an expanded audience for his "sermons," and of having a son and heir, Emerson had cause to be happy. Then on January 27, 1842, his five-year-old son Waldo suddenly died. Here was reason for woe, and he responded with almost incoherent cries. To his wife's relatives he was able to write of "our" child. "Our darling is de— " (He could not the first time finish the word.) To all others he indicated his private loss. "My little Waldo died this evening.... Farewell and Farewell." "My darling my darling." "My boy, my boy is gone... my angel has vanished." "Farewell and Farewell, O my boy!" (Letters, III, 6-8). His situation was worse when within a week he was grieving that he could not grieve. (Letters, III, 9-10). More than two years later in "Experience," he took up again the death of his son. With an exposure of his feelings which is still shocking, he wrote, "It does not touch me." (Works, III, 49). "The only thing grief has taught me is to know how shallow it is." (Works, III, 48). This difficult passage seems to mean not that he really felt no grief, nor even that he was numbed for a time into an apathetic void, but more certainly that while he felt the emotional pain, it did nothing to his spirit, and brought him no closer to the ultimate than had any other experience. So he concludes, "Nothing is left now but death. We look to that with grim satisfaction, saying, There at least is a reality that will not dodge us." (Works, III, 49). This is far from the benign acceptance of a beneficent tendency which is so frequently, so superficially, attributed to him.

The death of Waldo is taken up again in the elegy "Threnody," which if it is not so great as Wordsworth's "Intimations" Ode, is still the most effective of Emerson's longer poems. The emotion is deeply felt and expressed with considerable skill. Perhaps the change of figure from the "eye" of the first part to the "heart" of the end would not be highly approved today. Nevertheless, there is an effective contrast between the homely detail of the "painted sled," the "poultry yard," now abandoned by Waldo, with powerful abstract statements of the impact of his death:

> For this losing is true dying;
> This is lordly man's down-lying,
> This his slow but sure reclining,
> Star by star his world resigning.

As we would expect, when time dulls the blow and Emerson recovers from the immediacy of his grief, he can return to the poem and later resolve it on an optimistic note:

> My servant Death with solving rite
> Pours finite into infinite.

Since this consolation shows rather less extravagant optimism than that of any organized religion, it is difficult to see how it involves an excessively easy attitude toward either life or death.

In such a way as this I endeavor to show students that Emerson's knowledge of evil is more adequate than they have thought. Because Nature is usually the first work taken up in class, it is possible to correct the assumptions of some students before they have gone too far into misconception. Of course, this does not deny that Emerson's philosophy is optimistic, but it does go to show that it was not willfully blind or irresponsibly facile. Though Emerson did not believe in original sin, and though he never achieved a tragic view of life, he obviously looked at more of reality than its smiling aspects. I think a knowledge of this fact helps the averagely bright contemporary student to an adequate appreciation of Emerson's worth.

—State University of Iowa.

EMERSON AND NATURE TODAY

By KENNETH KURTZ

To students in our ungenial age, Emerson's call for self-reliance and cosmic optimism seems misguided and naive. His language is vague, metaphorical, sometimes even archaic, and when most concrete is drawn from a village life that belongs with the long ago. Our vocabulary is that of an age of science, administration, Realpolitik, and fact. Emerson's luminous phrases seem to burn out on contact with it. Moreover, his high goals were scarcely definable, much less attainable, while we do not hitch our wagons to stars but aspire to known terminations, to be arrived at on schedule: an earth satelite in a year, a trip to the moon in eight, integration by 1960, eight million cars for 1958. Emerson wrote of the private world. Our lives are increasingly public, and public life in an industrial, scientific, military era is not one of the still, small voice or of the long view.

Few literary figures from the past offer whole views of reality which are relevant for us, since their perspective was that of their age, and their ages did not include modern science. Emerson is something of an exception. His thinking was always unitary; every idea was silently related to his conception of the Oversoul. To him knowledge was the whole view, an awareness of this inclusive reality. In contrast, our knowledge consists of such unrelated fragments as physics and morality, business administration and aesthetics, biology and religion. In Emerson's world view these supported one another; in ours they either negate or are indifferent to one another, and often they have cut ties almost wholly with the world as personally known. In physics, chemistry, and biochemistry the realities have been refined far below the level of perception and the theo-

retical structures imagined bear no relation to the qualities of things as they are experienced. Moreover, many of the long straight paths of historical development in thought have suddenly turned unexpected corners in our century and are moving off on disconcerting tangents. There is something symbolic in the certainty of Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle.

As a consequence of this chaos in thought, the serious student yearns for some acceptable integration, some pattern which makes knowledge intelligible, and meaningful action possible. A student knows that seven psychologies do not add up to a human personality and that science without morality leads to disaster, but he has no compelling reason inherent in the knowledge he does accept which will give him the key to an integration.

At this point I think Emerson can be suggestive and perhaps more than a little helpful if we can translate his language into ours in order to get the real impact of his ideas. He gives a vision of the world which is unitary; that is, it takes into account not only the physical phenomena of experience but the world of idea and value. Fortunately it is both an abstract description of reality, couched in intelligible though highly condensed philosophical propositions that are the residua of a fairly coherent thought structure; and a statement of a poet's experience of that reality in terms of the commonplaces of daily existence in the field, the workshop, and the community. These two phases, the intellectual and the experiential, sustain one another in giving meaning to his total perception of the oneness of reality. To communicate this oneness he unites the most disparate elements: "Let me see...the shop, the plough, and the ledger referred to the like cause by which light undulates and poets sing;--and the world no longer lies a dull miscellany and lumber room, but has form and order; there is no trifle, there is no puzzle, but one design unites and animates the farthest pinnacle and the lowest trench."

Emerson's essays and poems are a series of variations on this theme of Identity, or the oneness of thing and spirit. Touch reality at any point and the whole web quivers. This reality is monistic, as is the world of modern science. It is a monism of will or divine energy exerting itself. If one could think of it in purely physical terms it would be essentially the cosmos of modern physics, a vast field of force where a single minute change will, theoretically, change the whole structure of the universe. But in his web of being Emerson includes the mind of the observer as well as the objects observed and declares there is an "occult relation between man and the vegetable." It is not difficult to find a modern parallel to this in scientific thought, for in the literal sense this occult relationship is being explored in biochemistry and bio-physics. There is an increasing tendency to see nature as a continuous process stretching from subatomic activity to the chemical conditioning of thought. Behaviorism assumed the actual identity of mind and matter. But in a larger sense modern science has become a field wherein there is an interplay between the observing mind and the observed thing. Indeed it is our very belief that the mind's constructions mirror the world which is the basis of our faith that science gives us truth. The theory of relativity and the concepts of the photon and of the Uncertainty Principle are merely very high-level abstractions created by the mind in what has proved to be a fruitful endeavor to make its vision conform to the nature of things. Modern physics has moved farther and farther away from a recognizable world of "thing" and nearer and nearer to the world of pure thought. It has been driven to employ metaphysical reconstructions of time, space, and continuity for the simple reason that when matter as particle dissolved into force, matter could no longer be known as physical object, but only through metaphysical analogies and mathematics. Whitehead pointed out that mathematics "may claim to be the most original creation of the human spirit" and that it exhibits connections between things which otherwise would be extremely unobvious if we relied only on perception through the senses.

To the modern physicist, as to Emerson, the world of idea is more real than the world of thing. In the twentieth century we have been deprived of the comfortable view that, however microscopic it may be, there is something solid and "real" about the physical world that can be touched or seen if we can but refine the instruments a little more. The "particles" of matter now appear to be little more than nexus of force, and the atom a complex field in the great cosmological field of force. The analogy of field of force to consciousness seems natural, and it is no longer unrealistic to think of the two kinds of phenomena as phases of the same whole, as Emerson did: mind and matter as one, "as seal is to print". So long as atoms were still golf balls held in static relationships called molecules there might have been grounds for suspecting Emerson's view as too abstract and fanciful, but this suspicion is no longer justified if the universe can be known only as a mathematical construct of the mind. It thus becomes merely a matter of temperament whether one will conceive this cosmic field of force as Oversoul (Mind, Spirit, or Will) or as "matter" transforming itself according to the laws of its own nature, which are also the laws of the human mind. Today, it should not be too difficult to agree with Emerson's statement: "Nature is a discipline of the understanding in intellectual truths. Our dealing with sensible objects is a constant exercise in the necessary lessons of difference, of likeness, of order, of being and seeming, of progressive arrangement; of ascent from particular to general; of combination to one end of manifold forces." However, he adds a teleological conclusion which is irrelevant to science; namely, that this correspondence between nature and the mind exists in order that the mind shall be informed of its oneness with nature in the Oversoul.

In the last thirty years the concept of natural law has changed in the direction of Emerson's view that the universe is an expression of will or mind and not a static pattern fixed by inexorable necessity. Law in nature is now understood as statement of statistical averages rather than statement of particular events. About thirty years ago, says Arthur Compton, it was found that "the laws of Newton do not describe what happens to the atoms of which matter is composed. It was found instead that the properties of these atoms are such that prediction of what happens to them can only be made within certain limits. The amount of this uncertainty is fixed in the very nature of matter itself." Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle, one of the foundation stones

of modern physics, leaves the determination of individual phenomena to "chance." If you are a poet you may call this mysterious regulator "will"; if like Emerson you are a religious poet you may call it Divine Will, or Oversoul.

Emerson's remark that "a noble doubt perpetually suggests itself...whether nature outwardly exists" has some bearing today, for it is quite clear that we no longer see physical reality face to face, but only through a series of symbols which must be interpreted by the mind: through numbers on dials, through shadows photographed in the electronic microscope, through spectroscopic analysis of light from objects. The basic fact is that one cannot see nexus of force or the undulations of light waves or the discontinuous existence of the photon, all of which would appear meaningless to the senses even if they could be experienced. In 1836, Emerson's complaint that he was utterly impotent "to test the authenticity of the report of the senses, to know whether the impressions they make on me correspond with outlying objects" may have seemed arrogant nonsense in scientific circles, as it still may to undergraduates who have not taken basic physics or chemistry. But it is clear today that, as Emerson realized, nature as perceived by the senses is only an outward show or symbol for a quite different reality that can be perceived only by the abstracting mind.

A few other facets of Emerson's thought might be worth a modern student's consideration: his conception of mankind as one body; his theory of talent, of great men as democratic voices rising from and expressing mankind rather than as Heroes who mould and drive it; his conception of reality as a flux of forms of "the one original energy"; his metaphysical basis for the moral law. Each of these is a complicated story in itself and one can only give hints here. Like Plato, Emerson was a catalyst rather than a systematizer or prophet. Like his master he suggests more than he really explicates; but we should not fail to see that his suggestions are surprisingly congenial to our mode of thinking and relevant to some of our fundamental problems.

--Occidental College.

EMERSON IS EASY TO TEACH

By ROBERT E. SPILLER

I was somewhat startled the other day when, in going over a list of still-young but well-established scholars whom I thought I might be willing to recommend for a post of some importance, I found that, however diverse their backgrounds, personalities, and training, they had one point in common——they were all Emerson scholars and all were teaching graduate courses on the thought and works of the Concord sage. This fact, of course, might merely indicate my own narrow horizons; but it might also suggest something about both Emerson and modern scholarship. If the leading young scholars in American literature in even three or four major mid-western and southern universities as well as some of the better colleges are Emerson scholars, the teaching of Emerson in this century probably does not need a defense. I will therefore address my remarks, not to the proposition that Emerson is difficult to teach or that he is out of date; but rather to the curious fact that so many people seem to think that he is out of date and difficult to teach at the same time that they are teaching him very successfully in secondary school, college, and graduate school. It is my conviction that Emerson is not only the easiest to teach of all classic American authors, but that he is the easiest to teach because he knows how to reach out to each man, boy, woman, and girl of today, as of his own day, and to speak to each according to his condition. Ever since 1836 when his first book was published, he has had something to say to every honest seeker who has put a question to him.

There may not be many such in any one group, and classes in Emerson will probably always be relatively small. Even in his own day, his following was limited and select. His books had very small editions, and his lectures were attended by audiences which could not begin to match those of Webster, Everett, or the current practicing phrenologists and mesmerists. He published in relatively obscure journals and many of his essays and speeches were still in manuscript when his friend and literary executor, J. E. Cabot, took over the task of making volumes out of them. His influence was always intense and enduring rather than widespread, yet those who were most profoundly affected by him escaped, with his blessing, the role of disciple. He was not reconciled to his own Harvard until he was near his death and he was never close, either as friend or fellow writer, to the great literary figures of his times——Longfellow, Bryant, Lowell, Holmes——although his supposed idealism and optimism linked him with the Brahmin tradition for many years. His ideological kinship with Wordsworth, Carlyle, Coleridge, Goethe, and other European leaders of the Romantic Movement helped to stamp him as a Victorian idealist during the latter years of the century, but he died in relative obscurity, in contrast to Dickens and Tennyson, yet honored and respected by a limited circle at home and abroad. He was soon one of the respected Americans who could be safely included in courses in English literature or nineteenth-century thought.

When the study of American literature in its own right was finally given a place in the higher academic curriculum, it was defenders of the so-called "genteel tradition" like Bliss Perry, Barrett Wendell, Percy H. Boynton, and A. H. Quinn who celebrated the battle they had won over the vested interests of the Anglophile philologists by giving Emerson, the author of "The Over-Soul," the top position in the new world hierarchy. The Concord sage could speak to their condition both in his nationalism and his gentility. A spate of new books--the best of which were by Perry, Firkins, and Foerster--celebrated "Emerson Today," an idealist who could survive the decay of Victorian prudery and still remain an idealist more or less approved of by Paul Elmer More, W. C. Brownell, and John Jay Chapman, a man of respectability and intellectual integrity. This was the first phase of the Emerson renaissance.

The second phase came with my generation which, under the initial spell of Parrington, and behind him Comte, Taine, Hegel, and even Marx, felt that literature should in some more meaningful way be related to life and that the distinctive character of

American life should be discovered at a deeper level in the works of American authors. This was a tougher assignment because Emerson had already been booked as the great writer who had transcended life, but the key to the problem lay in his own declaration of cultural independence, "The American Scholar." Those who followed doctrine all the way, like the Marxian Granville Hicks or the Jeffersonian Parrington himself, were badly thrown off, but those of finer perception and richer values like Matthiessen, who really disliked the Concordian personally, found him nevertheless back in his place as the focus of the American literary story. The experience of Van Wyck Brooks perhaps illustrates as well as any how this happened. Beginning by mocking the priest in the topper taking the stage for Boston to seek soul companions, he concluded with one of the great lines in all biographical writing: "for the universe had become his house in which to live." That Brooks had found this house also and that he continued to live in it himself for many fruitful years helped those others of us who had had similar experiences. The rediscovery of the native grain in Emerson did not destroy the idealist in him; it merely gave his message a richer substance. This universe was different from that of "The Over-Soul" and even "Compensation." This was the universe of "History" and "Self-Reliance" and "The Poet." It was not quite yet the universe of "Nature" and "Experience" and "Fate."

That universe--the world of skepticism, doubt, analysis, and rhetoric--was still to be rediscovered, but Emerson was already there when his fellow New Englander, T. S. Eliot, whose family had followed the Concord Hegelian William T. Harris to St. Louis, himself came back to Harvard and the discovery of the English metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century. Here was the by-pass for the Romantic Movement that a new generation of embryo neo-neo-classicists was looking for even before they realized that they were looking for anything. But Emerson was ahead of them. After all, his favorite poet had been George Herbert, and he knew his Milton rather better than his Wordsworth. A long descent from a Puritanism that had produced the complex symbolism of Cotton Mather's prose and Edward Taylor's verse had left him a heritage of metaphysical vision that could not adapt to the musical poetry of his time. He could describe a waste land as well as a transcendental purgatory and his mind naturally turned to images rather than to rhythms. He had found the resolutions for his doubts--not on the steps of Canterbury--but in the essays of Montaigne blended with the vision of Swedenborg. He had tested modern science as it moved into determinism and mechanism and he had added the "Beautiful Necessity" to the "Blessed Unity." He was ready for the next phase.

Perhaps a good prescription for the modern teacher of Emerson would be to forget the Emerson of Bliss Perry's yesterday and even of Van Wyck Brooks's universe, and to find in Sherman Paul a new "Angle of Vision" from which to approach him, to climb with Vivian Hopkins up through his "Spires of Form," and to consider with Stephen Whicher the complexity of his emotional and intellectual life in its division between "Freedom and Fate." From the more analytical and skeptical and relativistic point of view which might result, the occasional essays of Carl Strauch, R. P. Adams, and others in the current learned journals might have fresh meaning. Student assignments might start with the essays on "Experience" and "Fate" as preparation for such extravagances as "Self-Reliance" and "The Over-Soul." "Fate" especially would prepare for the earlier and more romantic "Nature," but the key book of 1836, even in the apparently absolute quality of its idealism, contains all the seeds of analysis and relativity that one might ask for. In it, of course, is Emerson's basic statement of his view of the function of symbolism in language which prepares so well, with the aid of the essay on "Poetry and Imagination" rather than on "The Poet," for an analytical study of Emerson's own poetry as metaphysical expression of the school of Donne rather than of that of Coleridge. There might be less apology for the lack of "music" and more rich discoveries of "meaning" in this approach. At last one might stumble on the real Emerson--the eternal doubter and seeker of the forever unconquered spirit--in that savings-bank of his soul, the Journals; and from there to the letters and the life. Only those who can bear to have literature discover a genuine and profound connection with life should, however, proceed to the exhaustive and definitive biographical studies of Ralph L. Rusk and the source studies of Kenneth Cameron. The others can afford to pause in an endless analysis of the meanings of "Merlin."

> Talents differ; all is well and wisely put;
> If I cannot carry forests on my back,
> Neither can you crack a nut.

--University of Pennsylvania.

THE UNDERGRADUATE MEETS EMERSON

By ARLIN TURNER

We need no one to tell us that when our undergraduates first come to Emerson most of them find him anything but congenial to their minds. The ideas and attitudes which have reached them from their elders and from the ambient society are more likely to be hostile than hospitable to an idealistic philosophy. Members of their generation are inclined to smile at millenial views and to doubt that man is either innately good or perfectible. They have grown up in a world of cynicism and fear. A Cossack eating a Poland would hardly command notice in a world which has seen mass extermination of women and children and has grown inured to the concepts of preventive war and genocide. It may seem to them the natural order for things to be in the saddle, booted and spurred, and ride mankind. Some will have been persuaded by incessant propagandizing that the way to show themselves patriotic is to major in one of the physical sciences and thus prepare to help make a bigger bomb to drop on someone else before someone else drops one on us. Moreover, they probably have sensed, if indeed they have not been told, that heterodoxy is unwise, whether in a religious, political, economic, social, or cultural context.

It may be that these phrases do not describe the present college generation, in an absolute sense, any more accurately than earlier generations. I am afraid they do. But however that may be, we all recognize the problem. Central to the matter, I sus-

pect, is the student's reluctance to deviate from what is normal among his associates. Often the reluctance seems to have become fear--a hazy sort of fear which manifests itself in an embarrassed silence in the presence of Emerson resigning his ministry, or addressing the Divinity School, or passing judgment on the Fugitive Slave Law, or calling into question one or another source of authority in his time.

This discomfort or fear has been, in my observation, more pronounced among undergraduates than graduates. The chief agent in lessening it is time spent in some such company as Emerson's essays. As a rule a graduate course allows more time for each author included than is possible in the usual undergraduate survey course, and as a consequence the sort of problem I have in mind is much less apparent with the graduate student. The very aspects of Emerson's thought and method which often repel the undergraduate may make him particularly satisfying as the subject of graduate study, in which there can be scope enough in both time and materials for the student to comprehend Emerson's mind and see it in its full context.

Since the time available is short for the undergraduate, however, and since his acquaintance with idealistic thought--perhaps also his tolerance for it--is small, the instructor needs whatever short-cuts and tricks he can concoct. I have wondered whether the primary need is not to induce a comfortable, relaxed atmosphere in which speculation and questioning seem proper and there is little room for intolerance or fear of unorthodoxy or even of anarchy in thought. Then as the students read and engage in class discussion or listen to lectures, a hint may be taken from Emerson himself, or from the method of Jesus, from whom Emerson learned much of his own teaching method. By means of the parable or analogy or example, whether in only a phrase or a figure of speech or in a longer statement, Emerson, like Jesus, suggested his meaning in one assertion after another, not driving for full, immediate comprehension but relying on his hearers' or readers' own intuition to pick up the partial statement and complete it. George Santayana may be used to support this approach in his observation that Emersonian thought is less a system than an attitude.

If the student can be kept facing in the proper direction, so to speak, if he can allow Emerson's assertions and examples to achieve their cumulative effect without stopping on what may be at the moment unacceptable points, there is a good chance that he may be led along as Emerson intended and as listeners to his lectures often testified was their experience. Thus what may seem to be inconsistencies or contradictions or unacceptable paradoxes would be played down at the outset, while reminders would be injected that Emerson's habit was to shock his reader, as it were, into attention. In like manner it is good to avoid whenever possible pushing concepts further toward literal applications than Emerson did. After staying longer in the company of Emerson's thought, the student often finds no difficulty at points where he might have paused earlier. Perhaps this is to say no more than that teaching should begin with what is most acceptable and should then take other steps in course.

If it is true that our students have spent little or no time in philosophy courses, as I believe is usually the case, and know Platonism only as a footnote to a poem by Spenser or Wordsworth, what I suspect is the best collateral aid still exists in the parallels and analogues in Christian thought. Our students are at home with such concepts as the soul, the conscience, God within, and the worth of even "the least of these," and they can be prompted into a productive sort of game of relating such essays as "Self-Reliance," "Compensation," and "The Over-Soul" to fundamental Western ideas. In this procedure "Self-Reliance" may be the best of the essays for introducing Emerson's thought, for the reason that it advances ideas familiar in Christian thought with only small variations in terminology and phrasing.

After such a beginning, subsequent steps can come, I have found, with relatively little strain for most of the students. Nature should follow, I think, several of the less complex essays. It can appear then as something of a frame into which the parts--the shorter essays--can be fitted. The essay "Illusions" and such poems as "Brahma" profit from still longer preparation. But not all students succeed in taking even the first full step without halting. The last time I taught a course in which Emerson appeared, one student, after we had read and discussed half a dozen of the essays, made this observation: "Emerson does not lay enough stress on the need of the individual to find out what God wants him to do." Just as this student had continued to place Emerson's thought in a literal way alongside his own ideas of a man's relations to a personalized God, so others persist in reading Emerson in a context of rigid beliefs or rules concerning man, society, and the divine. What they require, I suppose, is a longer and more tolerant association with Emerson's mind.

It sometimes happens that an undergraduate finds Emerson's ideas interesting in the same way that he might like to learn the customs and beliefs of some remote people. If he succeeds in taking a sympathetic attitude, however, he is likely to see progressively greater relevance of Emersonian principles to himself and his environment. A student I once had was half prepared, he said, to take a volume of Emerson under his arm and start out on a sort of joint pilgrimage and crusade. We cannot expect and probably do not want quite such success with those we introduce to Emerson. But if they can dwell comfortably with basic Emersonian philosophy, they will probably have a pleasant time with Emerson's understanding of the poet, for example, the organization and presentation of his essays, the homely images and analogies he employs, his fondness for paradox and irony, or the appropriateness of the organic theory of art to his general thought. The instructor, when he is successful, may find the teaching of Emerson as satisfying as anything else he does in the course.

--Duke University.

TEACHING EMERSON

By STEPHEN E. WHICHER

In the past ten years at Swarthmore I have taught Emerson to two different sorts of classes: an American literature survey course, numbering

some thirty or forty students, and a seminar limited to seven upperclassmen. My experience has been quite different with the two groups and the opposite of what one might anticipate: he has gone well in the survey course and on the whole unsatisfactorily in the seminar.

Our seminars in Swarthmore, though limited to our best advanced students, are not in my field advanced courses; students taking American literature seminars have had no American literature previously. The difference between course and seminar is in the method of teaching. The seminar group reads a rather large weekly assignment in a given author; certain members prepare papers on topics connected with the reading; then the whole group meets for a three- or four-hour session to discuss the papers and the reading. My general experience has been that most members of the group, good students though they are, have failed to make much sense of what they have read and that the process of discussion does not do enough to remove the effect of this first bewilderment. The unfamiliar themes and vocabulary, the unprepossessing tone, and the apparent disconnection of the various parts of the assignment cause an indigestion too great for one treatment to cure.

With the course, however, I have taken more active control and have given one or two lectures on Emerson's background, problems and method which have proved interesting enough to catch the imagination of that part of a class one lectures for. Then we have sampled the assigned reading--no more than two or three essays--with frequent reference to the general points already made. The result has been general comprehension and even pleasure. I have had otherwise normal students tell me that they enjoyed the work on Emerson more than any other part of the course.

Let me be the first to point out that if one can teach Emerson to the B and C students in a course one should be able to teach him to the A and B students in a seminar. My partial failure to do this reflects a persistent unwillingness on my part to face what now seems the plain fact, that a method which works so well with most authors does not work well with this one. That fact suggests the first general piece of advice I have to give to those who plan to teach Emerson to such a group: expound him adequately first; assign a limited amount of reading; go over that reading with the group as one might something in a foreign language--for Emerson is in a foreign language to them. Lead them through him by the hand and do not expect from them the initiative and independent grasp that they show in seminars on other writers.

I might add that this is not a problem peculiar to Emerson. When I taught him in a general American literature seminar I had similar difficulties with Edwards at one end and Adams at the other. When I taught him as part of a "Romanticism" seminar we threatened to bog down also in Coleridge, Carlyle, and of course in our sampling of German romantics like Schleiermacher and Fichte. There are certain authors whose thought and expression is simply too difficult for even the best undergraduates to follow without a lot of help. Probably I am one of the few teachers in our field who has had to teach for a decade to find this out. Emerson is an aggravated case simply because his aphoristic and bag-of-buckshot style defeats even those students who have the capacity, rare in any case, to follow a complex and oblique line of thought.

Since I am told that Emerson does not always go well in lecture courses, I might comment on that part of my experience also. In the first place, the class has never been large, as lecture classes go, and the lecturing has been informal and intimate. Then I think I bring to Emerson a certain conviction and general atmosphere of competence which I cannot always manage for other authors, so that the students feel they are close to living scholarship, something they find engaging and stimulating. It is plain to me and I assume to anyone likely to read these words that routine exposition is certain to kill any author and I have an unprovable suspicion that Emerson, because he does not warmly engage the interest of a large number of teachers at the moment, is often the victim of such assassination. For the rest, perhaps my temperamental bias toward the history of ideas, as it comes to life in individual minds, happens to pay off here. Taking off from Deism, which we have discussed in connection with Franklin, my exposition skims lightly through Hume and the Germanic jungle and then comes back to stress the daring of the Transcendental affirmation: God exists because I find Him within me. We can then both dramatize the Emersonian faith, otherwise so inaccessible today, and also move naturally to his doubts and questions—in other words, understand what is going on both in The American Scholar and in Experience. That established, we can bring out as we go along the centrality of the Emersonian gamble for all the authors of the "American Renaissance," thus sometimes precipitating for the student an unforeseen correlation of writers he had thought of as isolated. In this way Emerson becomes, as I think he should be, the pivot of the whole first semester's work, instead of being an awkward obstacle on the road to the interesting authors.

I have acquired certain other notions about teaching Emerson, though I have not always put them into practice. I think it is a mistake, if perhaps an unavoidable one, to assign him all in one lump. Ideally, every day's assignment throughout the term should have its page of Emerson. Difficult to apply, this method is nevertheless the right one to use with an author who tried as hard as he did to make each sentence a "stroke of fate." Read in one sitting he soon produces numbness. I would also urge a de-emphasis of Nature. Neither Emerson's best nor his most characteristic work, this little treatise is lethal to the beginning student. Better to start with The American Scholar or even The Transcendentalist; later the advanced student can come back and discover Nature's peculiar charm.

The question of Nature leads me to my last comment, which is simply to testify that Emerson is a difficult author to get, and therefore to teach. I have studied him and written about him for longer than I like to think and am only beginning to catch a glimmer of what is really important about him. Already an anthology I have just finished editing seems to me off-target, inadequate; there is more in Emerson than I could see or say, or can now. If this is so with one who has happened to give close study to the man, how much more may it be true of teachers

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who have given him no particular attention? How many of us are content, or resigned, to teach well-worn stereotype without ever coming to real grips with this challenging antagonist? Where the teaching is shallow student interest is likely to be shallow too: that is probably the truest statement to be made about teaching Emerson--or anyone.

--Cornell University.

EMERSON AND SWEDENBORGISM: A STUDY OUTLINE AND ANALYSIS

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

Because in the study of Emerson's prose and poetry there is room for many approaches, I listen approvingly to anyone who "gets results" or who tries hard to secure them. I am convinced, however, that no one "trick" or method in itself deserves exclusive praise since the effect is more largely than most suspect attributable to elements of personality. Occult factors in teacher and student--and sometimes even analyzable psychological factors--help explain many successes and failures, though not all. Our age is certainly opposed to the intense study of anything in the Humanities or Super-Humanities. I believe, nevertheless, that in corners here and there quality instruction meets a corresponding response from the quality students, whatever the technique or techniques, and I thank David Daiches and his Critical Approaches to Literature for being so refreshingly and broadly tolerant.

After a quarter of a century devoted to the study of Emerson and his world--personally rewarding in a hundred non-lucrative ways--I have rightly or wrongly come to think that we cannot understand Emerson's indubitable impact on our modern world unless he be continually evaluated also in terms of his own day. He is so vital a part of our historical traditions, lies behind so many successors, has stimulated so many would-be disciples and opponents, has combined so many American contradictions—that he cannot be rightly seen only through the shifting focus of our modern binoculars. He must also be studied--and appreciated--within the frame which embraced the other mid-nineteenth-century "greats." Seriously to deal with him anywhere--whether with the graduate or undergraduate--whether in the classroom or book club--requires an introduction. How thorough one may make it depends, of course, upon the competence and energy of the teacher, upon the native ability and disposition of the particular students involved, and upon the time factor, the third probably offering the greatest problem of all.

Under personal and imposed limitations, I have had to resort to a method that has permitted me, despite admitted inadequacies, to make the most of seven or eight one-hour background lectures, delivered usually while the students are reading fiction out of class. Sometimes these are given not to the full enrolment at all, but to a group of volunteers from the class, eager to give additional time if the instructor will give it. (The scheme varies from year to year, depending upon the quality of the registrants.) A mimeographed outline is prepared for each of these lectures, full of implication and some explication, but always capable of being expanded by the recipient. These sheets are put into the student's hands before the lecture begins in order to minimize his note-taking and thereby leave him free to listen and, if possible, to think, though he is encouraged to mark and scratch them in the margins. The lecture does not cover all that is on the sheets; it merely stays in the "neighborhood" of the principal topics. But it does attempt to dramatize the thought-pattern or historical pattern dealt with. Following the familiar Coleridgean principle, firmly enunciated at the beginning of the course, the instructor willingly suspends any disbelief he may personally have in the subject matter in order to utter it with as much conviction as possible. As the lecture proceeds, he interpolates examples, recites illuminating poetry and prose, draws analogies between past and present, occasionally lugs in elements of the contemporary folkway (L'il Abner and Marryin' Sam--if they can serve any good purpose), and, on occasion (and when the subject-matter warrants) becomes "a transparent eyeball!" He must sometimes deal poetically--that is creatively--with his theme, finding bold metaphors to characterize forgotten patterns of experience. The "spirituality-in-stages-or degrees" of the Neo-Platonist or Transcendentalist can effectively be likened to a thermometer, and the student ever thereafter, when dealing with the axiom, Quantum sumus, scimus or "Like only can know like" or "What we are within that only can we know without," will think of this conceit. (They will joke about it among themselves: "How does your spiritual thermometer register today?") The instructor is not above a great deal of well-placed humor in relieving the tense seriousness that characterizes the dramatic approach. For example, after describing the offices of Dame Nature in the Emerson-Coleridgean-Swedenborgian Ansicht--Nature as Commodity, as Beauty, as Language, as Discipline and, finally, as the agency of "mystical union"--he may say: "You note at once how, to these men, the external world meant both less and more than it does to many of us. In a sense, our view of nature represents great impoverishment. We can no longer see Wordsworth's primrose or Emerson's rhodora. To both men there was, and, perhaps, there should be to us, more in a grapefruit THAN MEETS THE EYE!"

For reasons that I have mentioned or implied, I consider the mimeographed outlines poor things, and I have never had the slightest temptation to publish them, even though there is a wide market today for outlines of all kinds! The principal reason is that such a sketch can never give the flavor of the lecture, it being only a spring-board. The fact, however, that this issue of the E S Q has been honored by the frank opinions of its contributors to the symposium, has emboldened me to risk misunderstanding to illustrate my point---to show that although the outline be cold to the eye, it provides (or can provide) an apparatus that may support an hour's lecture and, at the same time, give the student resources which no lecture on weighty themes could independently offer in the same period of time.

I select for this purpose the scheme for my talk on Swedenborgism, which emphasizes the "Boston brand" with its Harvardian and literary overtones. You may

be less sympathetic for the "poor students" if I indicate that six lectures of more or less the same sort have preceded it: (1) Plato-Plotinus; (2) Theological patterns before and after the Reformation; (3) Berkeley and the Eighteenth Century; (4) The Traditional Problems of Philosophy with which every age must somehow come to grips; (5) The Three Roots of English Romanticism; (6) The German Romantics, Kant and Coleridge. The students are thus already acquainted with the pattern of "Rationalism" or Western Idealism. The Swedenborgian lecture helps bring the general philosophic traditions of the West into focus —showing the peculiar coloring of one specific stream that flowed through Emerson's Boston. Of course, I stress in the outline the philosophic side of the religion which Emerson was able to absorb— not the mythology, bibliolatry or cultus. (There is a considerable difference!) You will note that the sheets contain enough factual evidence to keep the student from thinking that the teacher is "a nut" or "talking through his hat." (The better students actually explore these references in connection with term papers in other courses.) During the lecture I touch on only the salient points, neglecting many of the subheadings. (When I have an hour and a half, I can cover more.) At the top of the first page is a minimal bibliography that stresses the key evidence in Emerson's writings and the most easily available scholarly resources which, in this instance, offer extracts from the works of Swedenborg and his principal American disciples. Much of this evidence the student has at his fingertips in The Transcendental Workbook, which having been previously mounted on standard notebook paper in accordance with specific directions that accompany it, lies open before him on the seminar table. It offers him wide margins for lecture clarifications and for personal speculation.

To those teachers who may think that the preparation of so much mimeographing on the part of the teacher or the pasting up of a notebook by the student is too onerous to be considered, I should like to testify that many students actually enrol in the course to get the notebook and the sheets. Even so, the making of the notebook is optional. A few do not feel that it will help them. The majority do. Such a notebook becomes an invaluable help to them by providing a method for holding some of their gains. It offers a key not only to Emerson and Thoreau but to Whitman, Dickinson, and phases of Melville and T. S. Eliot as well. For the pre-theolog, it has relevance to literature and to the history of Christian thought. For the philosophy major, it can provide challenges. The history major finds it useful, and all tell me that their girl friends at Wellesley or Smith can pass courses denominated "stinkers" with its help!

To speak more seriously, the notebook can help organize the background lectures and provide a repository for critical notes and commentary on the literature itself. It can help systematize student intellectual efforts. As for the work involved, I can say only that, in my own limited experience, Emerson has seemed able to communicate most to those students who have been encouraged to offer him most. Is it not so with everything?

AN ABSTRACT OF EMERSON'S VIEW OF SWEDENBORGISM——THE PHILOSOPHIC FRAMEWORK UPON WHICH ARE HUNG THE DOCTRINES OF THE SO-CALLED "NEW CHURCH" OR "THE CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM"

[The student will find these titles Scriptural. See Revelation 3:12, 21:2, 2:17, 21:1 and 21:5. This small religious sect deserves great respect. It influenced Emerson, Alcott, Thoreau and Whitman.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Soul and Body	=	Swedenborg, Intercourse Between the Soul and Body (in Transcendental Workbook)
Excerpts	=	Excerpts from Sampson Reed's early works (in Transcendental Workbook)
Genius	=	Sampson Reed's "Oration on Genius" (in Transcendental Workbook)
Genius-O	=	Outline of Sampson Reed's "Oration on Genius" (in Transcendental Workbook)
G O M	=	Synopsis of Reed's Observations on the Growth of the Mind (in Transcendental Workbook)
Rep. Men	=	"Swedenborg" in Emerson's Representative Men (Works, IV, 93ff.)

[This bibliography can be enriched by consulting Frederic Ives Carpenter, Emerson Handbook and the Instructor's Emerson the Essayist, both volumes. For a useful study of the history of Swedenborgism in America, see Marguerite Block's The New Church in the New World, New York, 1932.]

(A) THE SPIRITUAL UNIVERSE

1) GOD IS UNITY----THE COMPLETE OR GREATEST MAN----HE IS THE GOAL OF ALL SPIRITUAL BEINGS-----LIKE MERGES WITH LIKE IN CONSTITUTING THIS UNITY, WHICH REJECTS THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

2) THE UNIVERSE IS COMPOSED OF LEVELS----SERIES AND DEGREES----A CONSTANT PROGRESS OR RETROGRESSION OPERATES THROUGHOUT THE NATURAL AND SPIRITUAL WORLDS. This and the preceding doctrine reflect the basic Platonic and Neo-Platonic patterns. See Soul and Body, chs. XIV-XV, and Rep. Men, 105, 106, 108-109.

3) INFLUX IS THE DYNAMIC FORCE ISSUING FROM THE SPIRITUAL CENTER----IT SWEEPS DOWN INTO EVEN THE LOWEST LEVELS OF CREATION----IT COMMUNICATES SPIRITUAL LIGHT AND HEAT (i.e., WISDOM AND LOVE)----IT CREATES IN THE NATURAL WORLD THE FORMS WHOSE PATTERNS OR PROTOTYPES FIRST EXIST IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD----ALL NATURAL FORMS STRIVE UPWARD TOWARD MAN. See Soul and Body, chs. IX-XIV, esp. pp. 9-11; Rep. Men, 105, 115; cf. Nature (Boston, 1836), 57.1-23. Contrast Swedenborg's "love and wisdom" with Matthew Arnold's "sweetness and light." Compare the Neo-Platonic doctrine of EMANATION.

4) LIKE MOST RATIONALISTIC PHILOSOPHIES, SWEDENBORGISM IS DUALISTIC IN ONE OF THE MEANINGS OF THAT WORD----IT DIVIDES THE UNIVERSE INTO GOOD AND EVIL PRINCIPLES----ONLY THE SPIRITUAL WORLD IS GOOD----THE PHENOMENAL WORLD, APART FROM INFLUX, IS SPIRITUALLY DEAD AND EVIL----THIS DISTINCTION IS BROUGHT OUT IN THE NEW-CHURCH INTERPRETATION OF BIBLICAL MIRACLES. See Soul and Body, ch. VIII; Excerpts, ¶s. 11-12, 29-30, 32.

(B) MAN----THE CREATOR IN THE FINITE

1) MAN HOLDS THE CENTRAL POSITION IN THE UNIVERSE----HE STANDS BETWEEN THE REALMS OF SPIRIT AND NATURE----HE PARTICIPATES IN BOTH----HE IS THE MICROCOSM. See Rep. Men, 106; also 114-115: "Man is a kind of very minute heaven, corresponding to the world of spirits and to heaven. Every particular idea of man, and every affection, is an image and effigy of him. A spirit may be known from only a single thought.

2) DIVINE INFLUX CREATES THROUGH HIM ALL THE LOWER CREATION----ALL CREATION IS FROM WITHIN OUTWARDS----SPIRIT CREATES MEN'S BODIES----MAN'S AFFECTIONS OR SPIRITUAL STATES FLOW OUTWARD AND CLOTHE THEMSELVES IN THE WORLD OF NATURE. The good and bad "thoughts" or "affections" in man are projected respectively into good and ugly natural forms, thus accounting for useful and malevolent animals--edible and poisonous plants. Disorganizations of any kind in the natural world suggest men's evil condition. See Soul and Body, ch. IX. Emerson alludes to this chapter in Nature, 38.18-19, 79.18-23, 94.17. See G O M, ¶5; and Excerpts, ¶18d (cf. Nature, 44.4); ¶ 18g (cf. Nature, 81.2ff., 88.11ff.);¶s. 58, 73 (cf. Nature, 32ff., 81.2ff., 94.16ff.).

3) DAY BY DAY EACH MAN BUILDS HIS OWN ETERNAL CONDITION, POETICALLY CALLED HIS "SPIRITUAL HOUSE"----IT IS HIS INNER CONDITION, WHICH IS CONTINUALLY REFLECTED IN HIS OUTER WORLD----THE HEAVEN AND HELLS IN HIM CHANGE GRADUALLY AS HE OFFERS GREATER OR LESS RESISTANCE TO THE HEAVENLY INFLUX. See Rep. Men, 124: "All things in the universe arrange themselves to each person anew, according to his ruling love. Man is such as his affection and thought are. Man is man by virtue of willing.... As he is, so he sees. The [relationships and associations] of the world are broken up. Interiors associate all in the spiritual world.... Nothing can resist states; every thing gravitates.... Every one makes his own house and state." Cf. Genius-O, ¶ 1.

4) THE FALL OF MAN IS NOT THAT OF TRADITIONAL CHRISTIANITY----IT IS MERELY A TEMPORARY BLINDNESS----IT RESULTS FROM MAN'S BECOMING INTERESTED IN THE MERE CREATURE INSTEAD OF THE SPIRITUAL MEANING BEHIND THINGS----THE RESULT IS A DEPARTURE FROM SPIRITUAL CONSCIOUSNESS OR "INNOCENCY"----SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LITTLE CHILD AND OF SLEEP----RESTORATION TO PARADISE IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE THROUGH AN AWAKENED MIND AND HEART. Swedenborg took over from Plato's Timaeus the myth of a "golden age" of superior men, adding it to the setting of the Biblical "Garden of Eden." (See D1 below.) According to his rationalistic system, earlier men knew the now-lost "language of Nature"---the key to natural symbolism---but when degeneration of spirituality set in, men began worshiping the symbol or thing rather than the truths which they represented. But blind eyes can always be opened in this or in any other mystical system. (See B5.) On the significance of the child and of sleep, see the following, and compare Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality:" Soul and Body, ch. VIII; Genius-O, ¶ 2; G O M, ¶s. 1-2; Excerpts, ¶s. 27-28 (cf. Nature, 88.7; 95.10-12); ¶s. 29-30, 32 (cf. Emerson's poem, "Grace," Works, IX, 359, and George Herbert's poem, "Sinne."); ¶s. 66, 69-70. The quotation in the last ¶ is from Wordsworth's Excursion, IV, 83-91. Cf. Nature, 89.6-11.

5) HOW SPIRITUAL PROGRESS IS ACHIEVED----THE PRINCIPLE OF PERSONAL ASSOCIATIONS----LIKE ONLY CAN KNOW LIKE ----IMPERSONALITY OF THE SPIRITUAL WORLD----HEAVEN IS AN IMMEDIATE SPIRITUAL STATE OR CONDITION----SOULS AND SPIRITS OF EQUAL ATTAINMENTS INFLUENCE EACH OTHER AT ALL TIMES----DEATH IS NO BARRIER TO RECIPROCAL INFLUENCES. As might be expected in such a rationalistic system, love, friendship and marriage (spiritually considered) are transient, for two souls can never keep the same degree of Influx very long. (Spiritual fahrenheit varies from moment to moment!) New spiritual associations or allignments are inevitable. (Cf. the romantic view of secular marriage!) See Rep. Men, 128: "All loves and friendships are momentary. Do you love me? means, Do you see the same truth? If you do, we are happy with the same happiness; but presently one of us passes into the perception of new truth---we are [then automatically] divorced, and no tension in nature can hold us to each other." Though human love in human bodies is delicious, it is far too personal to be of spiritual value. In the highest spiritual levels of existence, there must be no personeity---only VALUES! Much of what we love in the personalities we see about us must perish. It is of the natural order and cannot endure. "I know how delicious is this cup of love, --I existing for you, you existing for me; but it is a child's clinging to his toy; an alphabet through which our first lessons are prettily conveyed." Obviously, such worldliness cannot endure the tests of

eternity--at least in rationalistic or "spiritualistic" systems! See Rep. Men, 128-129: "Heaven is not the pairing of two, but the communion of all souls. We meet, and dwell an instant under the temple of one thought, and part, as though we parted not, to join another thought in other fellowships of joy." Hence in Swedenborg's (as in Emerson's) universe, the law of compensation and retribution worked instantaneously. See Nature, 58:1-20 and note. Swedenborg influenced Emerson's essay on "Friendship."

Summarizing the Swedenborgian position on human association: It is spiritual and impersonal at its best. To love a person merely because he returns the love or because his outer person is near by or attractive, is not to love interiorly. The spiritual world knows no time or space, and therefore ignores flesh, blood, muscle, coloring, pigmentation. The person is essentially evil and perishable; only the internal qualities (sustained by Influx) are good. When a person dies to the natural world, he continues the same close association with spirits sharing those qualities which he earlier shared internally and secretly. If we are internally and spiritually united to any person in the natural world, that union is not severed at death, for though we are then mutually invisible, we are always spiritually near each other. See G O M, ¶ 10; Soul and Body, chs. X-XII; Genius-O, ¶ 5; Genius, ¶s. 13-15.

6) DOCTRINE OF USES AND FUNCTIONS----MEN ARE ONLY PARTS OF THE "COMPLETE MAN"----EACH HAS A SPECIALIZED GIFT TO BE DEVELOPED FOR THE GOOD OF THE WHOLE----HEAVEN IS COMPLETE UNITY----THE NATURAL WORLD, ON THE OTHER HAND, REQUIRES DIVERSITY. See Plato's discussion of "Universals" or "Ideas" in the Parmenides and the Sophista, as well as his view of justice or "rule of limitation." See Plotinus' "three kinds of souls" under "The Path of Enlightenment" on the Chart of Neo-Platonism in your Transcendental Workbook. Emerson develops the doctrine of USE and DIVISION OF GIFTS or APPORTIONING OF TALENTS in his famous essay, The American Scholar, q.v. See the commentary on "Universal Man" in the Transcendental Workbook chapter entitled, "Emerson's Daemon and the Orphic Poet." "Man in his perfect form is Heaven." See Rep. Men, 106, 126; Genius-O, ¶ 1; G O M, ¶s. 14-16; Excerpts, ¶s. 35-36.

(C) NATURE----AND ITS MINISTRY TO MAN

1) NATURE IS CREATED BY INFLUX AS THAT SPIRITUAL FORCE FLOWS THROUGH MANKIND----BUT IT IS PRODUCED AND SUSTAINED ALSO BY DIRECT DEPENDENCE UPON THE "FORMS" OF THE SPIRIT WORLD AND HENCE MAY ALWAYS SERVE IN A MEASURE TO INSTRUCT MAN, WHATEVER MAN'S FALLEN CONDITION, AND WARN MAN OF HIS CONDITION. Cf. Nature as "monitor" to man in Neo-Platonism and in Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations." See G O M, ¶ 9; Excerpts, ¶ 74. Cf. Nature, 36.17 and 93.20ff.

2) THE OUTER WORLD SERVES MAN IN A VARIETY OF WAYS: FROM MINISTERING TO HIS PHYSICAL NEEDS UP TO TRAINING HIS SOUL FOR ETERNITY----NATURE'S CHIEF VALUE IS THE LAST: TO PROVIDE SYMBOLS OF SPIRITUAL AND MORAL TRUTHS----HER INSTRUCTION IS EXPLAINED IN THE "DOCTRINE OF CORRESPONDENCES" BY WHICH NATURAL OBJECTS OUTSIDE A MAN CORRESPOND TO IDEAS OR STATES OF MIND WITHIN HIM----ONE'S EDUCATION IS THE RESULT OF A PROCESS OF UNLOCKING OR "RECOLLECTION"----THE LANGUAGE OF NATURE, THEREFORE, IS ONE OF THINGS RATHER THAN WORDS. ----THE SMALLEST BLADE OF GRASS MAY BE, NAY IS, A TEACHER----DOCTRINE OF THE ALL IN EACH. See Nature, 45.5-12. See Plato's Meno for a statement of the classical doctrine of education: "For all things in nature being linked and related, and the soul having heretofore known all, nothing hinders but that any man who has recalled to mind, or according to the common phrase has learned, one thing only, should of himself recover all his ancient [i.e., his prenatal] knowledge, and find out again all the rest, if he have but courage and faint not in the midst of his researches. For inquiry and learning is reminiscence all." See Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations." See Rep. Men, 96, and Nature, 54.23-55.1 and 29.10-16----for the doctrine of the Microcosm. See Rep. Men, 101, 105, 115-117 on the Doctrine of Correspondences. More valuable are: Genius, ¶s. 15-16; G O M, ¶ 8 (cf. Nature, 32.8); Excerpts, ¶ 9 (cf. Nature, 76.10-12; 79.5ff.); ¶ 18f (cf. Nature, 32ff. and 36.19); ¶s. 22 and 71 (cf. Nature, 79.14-18; 76.3-17). On the range of Nature's service to man, see G O M, ¶6. Emerson makes use of these various levels and of the "progressive principle" throughout Nature. Cf. esp. Nature, 76.3-17; 77.12-15. For the Microcosm, see Excerpts, ¶s. 6 et passim. This prophecy of a spiritual message in a single blade of grass lies behind Whitman's Leaves of Grass.

3) SINCE MAN HAS FALLEN, HE HAS LOST THE ABILITY TO SEE THROUGH MERE THINGS INTO THE DEEP TRUTHS BEHIND THEM----BUT GOD'S REVELATION TO SWEDENBORG COMES TO MEN AS A BOON----THOUGH THEY BE BLIND, THEY CAN THROUGH THE NEW-CHURCH USE SWEDENBORG'S KEY TO THESE MYSTERIES AND LOST CAPACITIES. See Genius, ¶ 17 and Excerpts, ¶74. Study Excerpts, ¶ 6 with Nature, 80-81.

4) THE EXTERNAL WORLD HAS SUFFERED SINCE MAN'S FALL----NATURE HERE AND THERE APPEARS VICIOUS IN THE EYES OF DEGENERATE MANKIND BECAUSE MEN HAVE OBSTRUCTED THE STREAM OF INFLUX WITH THEIR "HELLS". The view of Nature as modern science sees it (and as Tennyson and Darwin saw it---as "red in tooth and claw"), evolving by cruelties and tremendous waste of life----is largely unacceptable to "rationalistic" systems, which have a blind spot as regards matter. Swedenborgism, like Neo-Platonism, places the chief emphasis upon the real world of MIND. (Matter is not real.) In their theory of animals, Swedenborgians come as near a "naturalistic" view of the visible world as they possibly can with their postulates. Study the rich illustrations in your Transcendental Workbook: G O M, ¶s. 8 and 10 (cf. Nature, 81.2ff. and 94.13ff.); Excerpts, ¶ 18d (cf. Nature, 32ff., 81.2ff., 94.16ff.); ¶s. 18g and 22 (cf. Nature, 34.1-3; 81.2ff.); ¶s. 58, 69, 74.

(D) THE WORD OF GOD-----HOLY SCRIPTURES

1) THE HEBREW-CHRISTIAN BIBLE IS CENTRAL IN REDEEMING A FALLEN WORLD BECAUSE IT CONTAINS IN ITS VOCABULARY A HIDDEN KEY TO THE SPIRITUAL MEANING OF NATURE----IT WAS WRITTEN BY MEN WHO UNDERSTOOD THE LANGUAGE OF NATURE AND WHO LIVED IN A GOLDEN AGE WHEN INFLUX OPERATED WITHOUT OPPOSITION TO ITS DOWNWARD SWEEP---- BUT WHEN MANKIND BECAME CORRUPT, THE LITERAL BIBLE REMAINED BUT ITS INNER MEANING VANISHED----SWEDENBORGIANS (THROUGH THE REVELATIONS OF SWEDENBORG) CLAIM TO HAVE THE KEY TO THE LOST LANGUAGE----THEY HAVE NO INTEREST IN LITERAL OR HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION. (Cf. modern Christian Science or the recent cult of Unity). New Churchmen, in Emerson's day, like other types of Biblists or Biblical Fundamentalists, select rather carefully the portions of the Bible which they find they can use in constructing their theological and ethical pattern. They avoid coming to terms with the "higher" and "lower" criticism of Bible, i.e., Biblical scholarship of the "form criticism" variety, now well established among objective critics. (Refer to B4 above.) See Rep. Men, 120: "Having adopted the belief that certain books of the Old and New Testaments were exact allegories, or written in angelic and ecstatic mode, [Swedenborg] employed his remaining years in extricating from the literal, the universal sense.... He had borrowed from Plato, the fine fable of 'a most ancient people, men better than we and dwelling nigher to the gods:' and Swedenborg added that they used the earth symbolically; that these, when they saw terrestrial objects, did not think at all about them, but only about those which they signified." The fable is recorded in Plato's Timaeus: Egyptian priests told Solon of a race of great Athenians, who lived thousands of years before, but whose civilization had been destroyed by an earthquake. See G O M, ¶s. 11-13; Excerpts, ¶ 18g.

2) BASED UPON SWEDENBORG'S COMMENTARIES ON HOLY WRIT, WILLIAM OEGGER AND OTHERS HAVE WORKED OUT AN ELABORATE DICTIONARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF NATURE AS FOUND IN THE BIBLE, AND CLAIM TO HAVE ARRIVED AT MUCH OF THE PRIMITIVE MEANING OF THE NATURAL OBJECTS ROUND ABOUT US. Here is a typical passage from Oegger's The True Messiah: The visible creation, he writes, is "the exterior circumference of the invisible and metaphysical world; and material objects are necessarily scoriae of the substantial thoughts of the Creator; scoriae [i.e., dross, slag, refuse, rubbish] which must always preserve an exact relation to their first origin; in other words, visible nature must have a spiritual and moral side. For God everything is, every thing exists.... For God, to create is only to manifest.... Every thing we see, touch, smell; every thing, from the sun to a grain of sand, from our own body with its admirable organs, to that of a worm; every thing has flowed forth, by a supreme reason, from the world where all is spirit and life." (A sentence from this passage appears in Nature, 44.8-13). For Oegger's "Hieroglyphic Keys" to the Scriptures, see Emerson the Essayist, II, 95-98.

3) THE CANON OF THE BIBLE AND THE ROUTE TO FURTHER HEAVENLY REVELATIONS ARE DECLARED "CLOSED"----SWEDENBORG'S VISIONS ARE DEFINITIVE----THE CHURCH WILL TOLERATE NO FURTHER EXPLORATION----SWEDENBORG'S KEYS ARE THE ONLY ONES AUTHORIZED (THE ONLY ONES THAT CAN BE AUTHORIZED) BY THE HIERARCHY OF THE NEW-CHURCH. (IN OTHER WORDS, LIKE ALMOST EVERY RELIGIOUS BODY, THIS CHURCH HAS ITS DOCTRINE OF INFALLIBILITY.)

(E) MISCELLANEOUS CONSIDERATIONS

1) SWEDENBORGIANS ARE A WARM AND BENEVOLENT LITTLE "CHRISTIAN" SECT ON THE BORDERS OF SECTARIAN PROTESTANTISM----IN APPEARANCE OR ATMOSPHERE THE CHURCH MIGHT BE SAID TO COMBINE THE QUIET GOODWILL OF QUAKERS WITH THE LITURGICAL AND CULTIC TRIMMINGS OF OLD LUTHERANISM----THE CHIEF EMPHASIS IS ON PRACTICAL LIVING --ON RECTITUDE----NEW-CHURCHMEN EXTOL THE MORAL SENTIMENT----CENTERED ON THE "TEN COMMANDMENTS," THEIR MORALITY SMACKS STRONGLY OF THE HEBRAIC QUALITY OF PURITANISM RATHER THAN OF THE HELENIC COLORING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES. (In this connection, the student should remember that Swedenborg's father was a Lutheran bishop.) Emerson was strongly drawn to the New-Church because of its Neo-Platonic ("rationalistic") framework and especially because of its high ethical teaching. See Rep. Men, 94: "The atmosphere of moral sentiment is a region of grandeur which reduces all material magnificence to toys, yet opens to every wretch that has reason the doors of the universe." See ibid., 145: Swedenborg said: "'Nothing can keep you,--not fate, nor health, nor admirable intellect; none can keep you, but rectitude only, rectitude for ever and ever!' And with a tenacity that never swerved in all his studies, inventions, dreams, he adheres to this brave choice." See G O M, ¶ 1 etc.; Genius-O, ¶ 4; Excerpts, ¶ 9.

2) ESSENTIALLY ANTI-HISTORICAL, LIKE ALL RATIONALISTIC SYSTEMS, SWEDENBORGIANS EMPHASIZE A KIND OF EXISTENTIALISM---THE "ETERNAL PRESENT"----THEY ARE CONCERNED WITH THEIR "IMMEDIATE" SPIRITUAL CONDITION---- FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF MIND OR SOUL, TIME IS NOT REAL----THE BEST VIEW IS "SUB SPECIE AETERNITATIS" ----WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THAT NEW-CHURCH BIBLICAL ATTITUDES SHOW NO HISTORIC SENSE---NO CONCEPT OF A WRITING OF THE BIBLE IN HISTORY AS OTHER BOOKS ARE WRITTEN---TALMUD or ARABIAN NIGHTS, for example. NEW-CHURCHMEN DEPART FROM HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON ANOTHER POINT: THEY SEE NOTHING BUT FUTILITY IN ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY, IGNORING THE DOCTRINE OF "ORIGINAL SIN" WITH ITS CORRELATIVES, THE "INCARNATION" AND "ATONEMENT."----IN ITS DUALISM, IT BREAKS WITH THE HEBREW-CHRISTIAN TRADITION, WHICH EVER ASSERTS THAT THE MATERIAL WORLD IS A DELIBERATE CREATION BY GOD WHO, FROM THE BEGINNING, HAS CALLED IT GOOD---- Cf. Genesis, 1 and the recurrence of the phrase, "it was good:" ": כִּי טוֹב "

3) EMERSON OBJECTED PRINCIPALLY TO THE LITERALISM OR FUNDAMENTALISM OF SWEDENBORG'S ALLEGORY----HE FELT THAT SWEDENBORG SAW INTO ONLY A HEBRAIC OR BIBLICAL HEAVEN----EMERSON DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE HEBREW-CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES WERE CAPABLE OF SUPPLYING A UNIVERSAL SYMBOLISM. See Rep. Men and Excerpts, ¶57.

4) THE FOLLOWING EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO YOUR INSTRUCTOR FROM A FRIEND OF SWEDENBORGISM (BUT NOT AN ADHERENT) GIVES AN INTERESTING AND SOMEWHAT OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL OF THE FOUNDER OF THIS SECT: "Yes, you are right about the dearth of good concise pictures of Swedenborg's system, and I shall try my best to remedy that in my biography, because, really, his life is his thought, and his thought is his life. (He didn't have much real life outside his own brain.) I see him in the great stream of Platonic and Neo-Platonic thought, trying to do what Ficino and Pico had in mind, in reconciling the Platonic occult tradition with Christian dogma. I think he was trying to do for Plato what Thomas Aquinas did for (or to) Aristotle. I am sure that he got caught somewhere along the line in the 'occult tradition,' whether through the Rosicrucians, the Masons, the alchemists, the Hermetic writings, or whatever, but I don't think he was insane at all. I just think he got into some other realm of being, whether a 'world of spirits' as he thought, or Jung's 'collective unconscious,'---it doesn't matter much how we interpret it---it really does exist, whatever we call it. The mystics came into it through one door and the psychoanalysts through another. (I've peaked through both myself!) I don't think it is possible to understand fully a man like Swedenborg any more than Joan of Arc or Bernadette of Lourdes)--we can only make an attempt to clear up some of the debris of misunderstanding which has piled up around him, and let others make their own interpretations of the simple facts, according to their own temperamental predilections."

(F) SAMPSON REED'S DEVELOPMENTS OF SWEDENBORGIAN DOCTRINE IN THE AREA OF BOSTON---- HIS ROMANTICISM----HIS THEORY OF LITERATURE. [Reed was a product of the Romantic Movement as well as of Swedenborgism. A sketch of his life appears in Emerson the Essayist, volume I. He read Coleridge eagerly and knew Wordsworth almost by heart. He claimed that the latter was bearing an eloquent and independent witness to the truths which the New-Church taught. A quotation from Wordsworth appeared on the title page of the first edition of his Growth of the Mind (1826).]

1) TRUE OR "ORIGINAL GENIUS" IN MAN IS THAT SPECIAL GOD-GIVEN QUALITY OR USE IMPARTED BY INFLUX----IT IS LENT TO MAN FROM HEAVEN----IT IS NOT HIS OWN POSSESSION----"IT IS NOT OURS; WE ARE ITS."----IT IS GIVEN, NOT EARNED, AND MUST NOT BE USED SELFISHLY-----ALL GENIUS IS RECEPTION. See Genius, ¶ 2; Genius-O, ¶ 4; G O M, ¶s. 15-16.

2) TRULY GREAT MEN OR "REPRESENTATIVE MEN" ARE SUCH BECAUSE OF THEIR PARTAKING LARGER DRAUGHTS OF DIVINE INFLUX THAN DO ORDINARY BEINGS----AT BEST, HOWEVER, THEY ARE ONLY CREATURES----THEY ARE NOT TO BE WORSHIPED AS GODS----HUMILITY CHARACTERIZES THE TRULY GREAT----GREATNESS AND GOODNESS ARE INSEPARABLE---- REED CONDEMNED THE BYRONIC OR NAPOLEONIC CONCEPT OF GREATNESS. Reed's doctrine influenced Emerson's early poem, "Gnothi Seauton." Study Genius, ¶s. 3-7, 12; Excerpts, ¶s. 35-36; Genius-O, ¶ 3. Neither Reed nor Emerson shared Carlyle's view of "great men."

3) MAN NEEDS TO RELY UPON GOD CONSTANTLY FOR EVERY QUALITY OF REAL LIFE----(COMPARE EMERSON'S SELF-RELIANCE) ----THE FLESH FAILS----ONLY THE GODLIKE CHARACTER, THE SOUL, OR THE REASON IN MAN IS ETERNAL----THAT PORTION OF US ILLUMINED BY THE DIVINE INFLUX IS ALL THAT PERSISTS IN ETERNITY----SOCIETY AND THE WORLD'S NOTIONS OF GREATNESS MUST BE RENOUNCED----THEY SMELL OF DEATH. See Genius-O, ¶ 5 and G O M, ¶s. 14-16. These thoughts lie behind Emerson's "Gnothi Seauton" and "Self-Reliance."

4) THE BASIC RULE OF LITERARY CRITICISM--ONE ESPECIALLY TRUE FOR INTERPRETING THE BIBLE (OR ANY GREAT CLASSIC) IS THAT "A SCRIPTURE CAN BE INTERPRETED ONLY BY A SPIRIT AKIN TO THAT WHICH GAVE IT FORTH."----LIKE ONLY CAN UNDERSTAND LIKE. ("QUANTUM SUMUS, SCIMUS.") See G O M, ¶ 12. Cf. Nature, 44.18.

5) REED'S AESTHETIC THEORY----THE POET AS SEER----ALL TRUE ART ISSUES FROM THE HEAVENLY INFLUX----THE NATURAL WORLD IS USEFUL ONLY INSOFAR AS IT SPEAKS OF SPIRIT----FORM IS LESS IMPORTANT THAN INSPIRATION OR POWER OR CONTENT OR MESSAGE----THE PRINCIPLE OF SPONTENEITY EMPHASIZED----RHYME IN POETRY IS NOT SANCTIONED BY NATURE----SOME POETIC INSPIRATION IS TOO GREAT TO BE WRITTEN DOWN AND CAN ONLY BE FELT AND NOT EXPRESSED----THE BEST PART OF MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE IS INEFFABLE----THE WORK OF ART BUT HALF REVEALS----THE BEST PART OF AN EXPERIENCE CANNOT BE COMMUNICATED!!!! See G O M, ¶s. 8-9; Genius, ¶ 8; Excerpts, ¶ 6; Genius-O, ¶ 3; cf. Nature, 28.4-31.4; 32.10.

Reed's letter to Theophilus Parsons (edited in Emerson the Essayist) [May 31, 1823] is significant: "If you keep the Word before you as essential poetry, I think you must know where to look for every thing else, as instinctively as animals know the point of compass. The different kinds of poetry as they have been classified by writers on the subject, are something, that I know very little about---but I should think that the natural mind had made divisions here, as elsewhere, many of which would disappear before a single view of goodness and truth united. Whether Lyric, Pastoral, Heroic or what not----poetry can have but one essence, love, but one form, nature. There may be infinite variety in the time, but they all require articulation and sound. I can see no rhymes in nature, and hardly blank verse, but a happy assemblage of living objects, not in straight lines and at fixed distances, but springing up in God's own order, which by its apparent want of design, leaves on the heart an image of its essential innocence and humility."

He writes similarly in his Growth of the Mind (1826): "It is...the continual endeavour of Providence, that the natural sciences should be the spontaneous production of the human mind. To these should certainly be added, poetry and music.... By poetry is meant all those illustrations of truth by natural imagery, which spring from the fact that this world is the mirror of him who made it. Strictly speaking,

nothing has less to do with fiction, than poetry.... The word fiction [means] whatever is not in exact agreement with the creative spirit of God. It belongs to the true poet to feel this spirit, and to be governed by it; to be raised above the senses; to live and breathe in the inward efforts of things; to feel the power of creation, even before he sees the effect.... Of all the poetry which exists, that only possesses the seal of immortality, which presents the image of God which is stamped on nature." [He is here condemning the works of that scoundrel, Byron!!]

"It may be peculiar, and is said with deference to the opinions of others, that to my ear, rhymes add nothing to poetry, but rather detract from its beauty. They possess too strongly the marks of art, and produce a sameness which tires, and sometimes disgusts. We seek for them in vain in nature, and may therefore reasonably presume that they spring out of the peculiar state of the public taste, without possessing any real foundation in the mind itself; that they are rather the fashion of the dress, than any essential part. In the natural world we find nothing which answers to them, or feels like them--but a happy assemblage of living objects springing up, not in straight lines and at a fixed distance, but in God's own order.... The poet should be free and unshackled as the eagle."

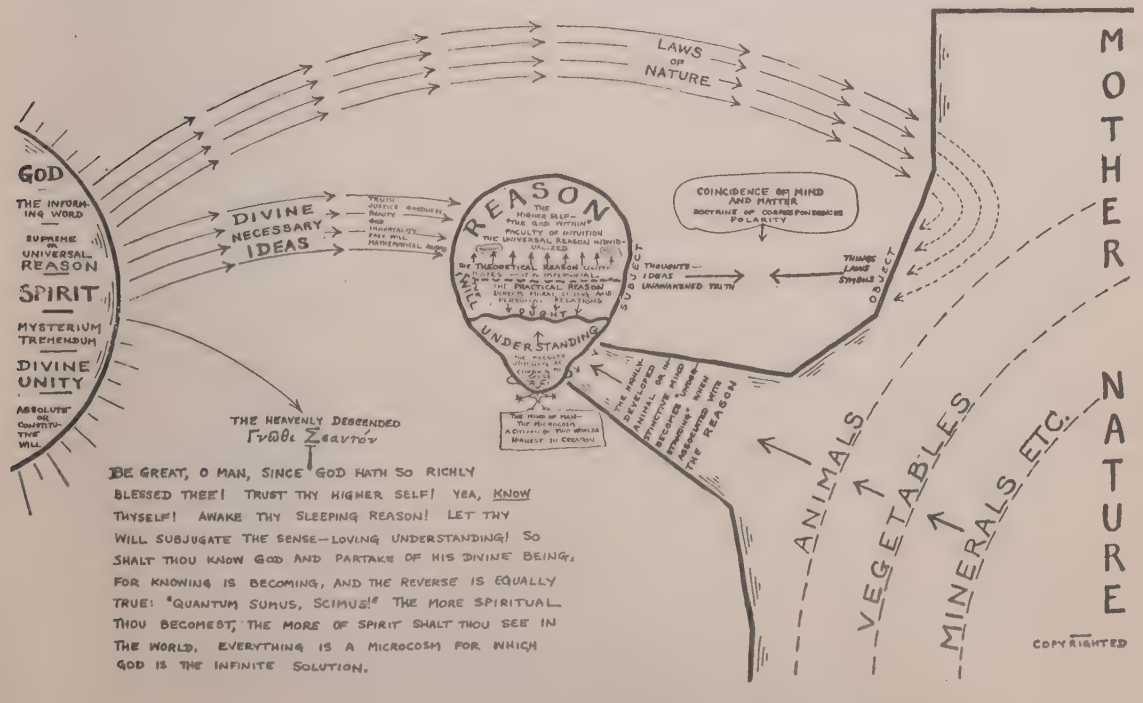
[Schyberg indicates that Whitman had contacts with the Swedenborgians in his early years. Whether he ever read Sampson Reed's Observations on the Growth of the Mind cannot be declared certainly, but as early as 1826, in Boston, Reed anticipated Emerson's "The Poet" and Whitman's Leaves of Grass.]

6) JOHN LOCKE'S MATERIALISM AND THE "NATURALISTIC SCHOOL" OF HOBBES MUST YIELD TO INTUITIONALISM----MIND (I.E., SPIRIT) IS PRIOR TO MATTER----OUR MOST IMPORTANT IDEAS ARE A PRIORI. See G O M, ¶s. 4, 7; Genius, ¶ 18; Genius-O, ¶ 5. Cf. Nature, 82.3--87.2; 89.12--90.4; 92.1-3.

7) THE SCIENTISTS CAN TRULY UNDERSTAND THE NATURAL WORLD ONLY BY ABANDONING THE INDUCTIVE METHOD AND LOOKING THROUGH SPIRITUAL OR RELIGIOUS EYES----SPIRITUAL STUDIES SHOULD HAVE PRIORITY OVER CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS IN THE NATURALIST'S PREPARATION. See G O M, ¶ 7; Genius, ¶s. 9-10. Cf. Emerson on fact-grubbing scientists in Nature, 82.3--87.2; 89.12--90.4; 92.1-3.

8) THE NEW CHURCH BRINGS OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE----TRADITIONAL RELIGION IS DEAD----THE NEW JERUSALEM WILL SOON DESCEND FROM HEAVEN. See G O M, ¶ 10; Genius, ¶s. 11-12, 19; Genius-O, ¶ 5. Emerson's optimism was greatly strengthened by the Swedenborgians while he was writing Nature. See G O M, ¶s. 1-2. Cf. Nature, "Introduction" and chapter VIII.

[Here follows a chart illustrating the "rationalist" terminology of Coleridge and indicating the equivalents of the doctrines of "Influx" and "Affections Clothed" together with the epistemology of "correspondences." It is reprinted here with permission from The Transcendental Workbook and from Emerson the Essayist:]


LAWS OF NATURE
GOD
THE INFORMING WORD
SUPREME OR UNIVERSAL REASON
SPIRIT
MYSTERIUM TREMENDUM
DIVINE UNITY
ABSOLUTE OR CONSTITUTIVE WILL
DIVINE NECESSARY IDEAS
REASON
COINCIDENCE OF MIND AND MATTER
DOCTRINE OF CORRESPONDENCE
POLARITY
SUBJECT
OBJECT
THOUGHTS — IDEAS
UNAWAKENED TRUTH
THINGS LAWS SYMBOLS
WILL
UNDERSTANDING
THE HEAVENLY DESCENDED
Γνῶθι Σεαυτόν
BE GREAT, O MAN, SINCE GOD HATH SO RICHLY BLESSED THEE! TRUST THY HIGHER SELF! YEA, KNOW THYSELF! AWAKE THY SLEEPING REASON! LET THY WILL SUBJUGATE THE SENSE-LOVING UNDERSTANDING! SO SHALT THOU KNOW GOD AND PARTAKE OF HIS DIVINE BEING, FOR KNOWING IS BECOMING, AND THE REVERSE IS EQUALLY TRUE: 'QUANTUM SUMUS, SCIMUS!' THE MORE SPIRITUAL THOU BECOMEST, THE MORE OF SPIRIT SHALT THOU SEE IN THE WORLD. EVERYTHING IS A MICROCOSM FOR WHICH GOD IS THE INFINITE SOLUTION.
ANIMALS
VEGETABLES
MINERALS ETC.
MOTHER NATURE
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THE TRANSCENDENTAL *Workbook*

By

KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

INTENDED FOR

Students, Researchers, Scholars and Directors of Dissertations in

AMERICAN LITERATURE
TRANSCENDENTALISM
HISTORY OF IDEALISM
ENGLISH ROMANTICISM

Subject Index

I OUTLINE OF PLATONISM AS KNOWN BY THE TRANSCENDENTALISTS

II OUTLINE OF NEO-PLATONISM, OR THE SCHOOL OF PLOTINUS

III THE "IDEALISM" OF BP. BERKELEY—RELEVANCE TO EMERSON

IV "THE TRANSCENDENTALISTS" AS DESCRIBED BY F. H. HEDGE

V "THE NECESSARY TRUTHS" WHICH EMERSON GATHERED FOR STUDY

VI SAMPSON REED'S ORATION ON GENIUS (1821)—CONSIDERED ORACULAR BY THE EMERSON FAMILY

VII ANALYSIS-OUTLINE OF REED'S ORATION ON GENIUS (1821)

VIII SYNOPSIS OF SAMPSON REED'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE GROWTH OF THE MIND

IX PASSAGES FROM SAMPSON REED'S EARLY WORKS THAT ESPECIALLY INFLUENCED EMERSON

X EMERSON'S EARLY PHILOSOPHICAL POEM, "GNOTHI SEAUTON" (1831), EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

XI COLERIDGE AS KEY TO EMERSON'S NATURE (1836). AN ANALYSIS OF COLERIDGE'S PHILOSOPHY AS EXPERIENCED BY EMERSON

XII EMERSON'S STATEMENT OF THE FIRST PHILOSOPHY (1835)—— HIS EARLIEST ATTEMPT TO SYSTEMATIZE TRANSCENDENTALISM

XIII ALCOTT'S DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF HUMAN CULTURE (1836)

XIV PARAGRAPHS OF ALCOTT'S UNPUBLISHED PSYCHE, OR BREATH OF CHILDHOOD (A JOURNAL OF 1835-1836), WITH ALCOTT'S CHART.

XV ANALYSIS OF EMERSON'S NATURE (1836)——A RAPID SURVEY FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THOSE IN THE COLERIDGEAN-SWEDENBORGIAN ZEITGEIST

XVI FULL TEXT (PHOTOGRAPHICALLY REPRODUCED) OF THE FIRST EDITION OF EMERSON'S NATURE (1836), WITH LINE NUMBERS.

XVII EMANUEL SWEDENBORG'S LITTLE BOOK, MUCH BELOVED BY EMERSON AND READ BY HIM DURING THE COMPOSITION OF NATURE—— THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE SOUL AND THE BODY, COMMONLY CALLED INFLUX, FIRST PUBLISHED IN LONDON, 1769.

XVIII EMERSON'S DAEMON OR POETIC ALIAS——THE ORPHIC POET

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TRANSCENDENTAL BOOKS

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1957

INTRODUCING EMERSON'S TRANSCENDENTALISM TO UNDERGRADUATES

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

I am occasionally asked to speak on some broad topic to a group of students not especially interested in literature, though they may be "sociologically" respectful! (After all, literature may not be excluded from experiments in "American Civilization"!) On one such occasion I was assigned to two sections of the American history survey--each with forty sophomores--to speak on "The Place of Transcendentalism." Since the subject was a large one, forty-eight minutes were granted for each lecture! I should be interested in knowing how others might have proceeded under the circumstances. My own approach was this. I made sure that my memory was dependable for a half-dozen lyrics ("Rhodora," "Days," "Two Rivers," "Brahma," and two others) and a few passages from Emerson's Journals and Nature. Then I prepared the outline which follows so that the student might listen to the illustrative literature while his eye might be glancing at the little diagrams as I moved in and out of the mimeographed sheet, depending upon the kind influence of Transcendental saints above and around the lecturer, doubtless, somehow to render the hour not unprofitable. I gave no bibliography, but on thanking them for their kind attention at the end, I invited the group to take the course in American Literature promising to try therein to do a better job than was possible in sixty-times-forty-eight ticks of their wristwatches. (I once was inclined to refuse these hit-or-miss occasions, but today I read poetry whenever given an opportunity.)

THE RISE OF TRANSCENDENTALISM

I) AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION: Transcendentalism was a warm and intuitional religious, aesthetic, philosophical and ethical movement--the American tributary of European Romanticism--a theoretical and practical way of life and a literary expression within the tradition of "Idealism"--a new humanism based upon ancient classical or Neo-Platonic supernaturalism and colored by Oriental mysticism. It maintained the spiritual "infinitude" of the individual person.

II) WORLD BACKGROUND (1775-1849):

A) Political: A period of reform movements----Revolutions----Democratic upheavals----Optimism about man's possibilities and perfectibility----New experiments with constitutions. Transcendentalism reflects contemporary optimism and hope.

B) Economic: The Industrial Revolution and its progressive materialism. Attempts to combat it abroad took the form of experiments in socialism (Fourier and Proudhon)--in collectives which were themselves materialistic. Transcendentalism experimented at Brook Farm and at Fruitlands with collectivism, but its great writers took no real part in it. They were sympathetic however with all efforts at "plain living and high thinking." Thoreau did not favor collectives of any kind, emphasizing rather a simplified living for the individual. Transcendentalism in promoting so vigorously the individual and his private mysticism allowed only a token consideration for society. Stress laid on subjectivism--on personal development.

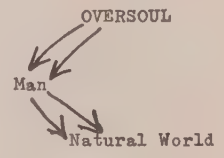
C) Aesthetic: Romanticism--both a literary movement and a religious movement--was at this time in full blossom throughout the Western hemisphere. Reaction against Neo-Classicism and its restraints in expression. Romanticism was against formalism and conventions in poetry and the fine arts; against austerity and too much emphasis upon mind at the expense of emotions. Favored sponteneity, color, music, intuition; against restraint, balance, cold description and rationality. Form mattered less than inspiration, enthusiasm, emotion, spirituality. Romanticism preferred the Dionysiac to the Apollonian. Transcendentalism shared the Romantic impulse though with somewhat less exaggeration in America because of its associations with New England.

D) Religious: Conventional spirituality was at low ebb everywhere during this period. Aridity of eighteenth-century Deism. Disintegration of Calvinism. Catholicism comparatively weak in the United States. Prevalence of dry and rational utilitarianism and unitarianism. Emphasis upon ethics rather than upon religion. Like so many minor sects (Quakers, Swedenborgians, Brethren, etc.) Transcendentalism reacted against all the prevailing secularism and sought to rediscover the spiritual world ----- more fully enjoyed in the sweet "long ago." Transcendentalism continued to stress the ethical, basing it upon Kant's Categorical Imperative rather than upon a religion with supernatural sanctions. What religious basis it enjoyed was that of late Neo-Platonism and its derivatives and of the German followers of Kant (Schelling, Fichte, Herder, Goethe, the Schlegels etc.) It deliberately bypassed traditional Christianity.) Result: a warm, pantheistic, mystical outlook emphasizing a "god immanent in man and in the world" and at the same time placing the source of everything in an impersonal, transcendent Oversoul. (Valuable insight into the reasons for the rebellion of the Romantic Movement against dessicated Protestant Christianity found in James Baird, Ishmael, Baltimore, 1956.)

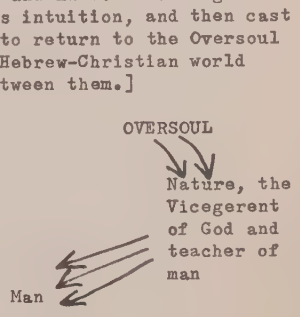
E) Philosophic: England and the Continent had long been in the grip of materialistic thought, empiricism and skepticism--stimulated by the inductive philosophy of Bacon and the educational theories (tabula rasa and a posteriori knowledge) of John Locke and his followers. Romanticism proclaimed the Imagination rather than rationality as the principal agency in the creation of poetry; offered an organic concept of nature as opposed to the static or mechanistic views of the eighteenth century; required symbol and myth for poetic style. (Lovejoy has characterized Romanticism by using the terms (a) organicism, (b) dynamism and (c) diversitarianism. [See Morse Peckham, "Toward a Theory of Romanticism," P M L A, LXVI, 5-23 (March, 1951); also James Benziger, "Organic Union: Leibniz to Coleridge," loc. cit., pp. 24-48.] Transcendentalism attempted to combat materialism and skepticism by emphasizing a philosophy that "transcended" the senses: intuitionalism, a priori thinking, ideas flowing into the mind direct from God, evidence of Divinity in the living heart and conscience. It turned from skepticism to Faith, from cold intellectualism to mysticism, from mere logic to super-logic or intuition, from empiricism to classical idealism.

III. TRANSCENDENTAL OUTLOOK UPON ULTIMATE REALITY: All reality is in a transcendent or spiritual world---the realm of the "Oversoul." The visible (i.e., the phenomenal) world of time and space and matter (including the human body) is less real or, indeed, unreal and without value per se. Only as the Transcendent Spirit shines into man and nature or flows into them or (because of having created them) lingers in them, do they deserve respect. As mere matter, they are dead. Only as God is in them are they alive. The Oversoul is both above man's comprehension and also within man--an "incarnate Logos" in every human being--though in most people it slumbers and is never awakened, in which case men are bestial. The real SELF in a man is that "higher self" or "true self"---that fragment of the Transcendent (and now Incarnate) Deity-with-him. (Synonymous words are "Conscience," "Intuition," "Influx," "Heart," "Oughtness," "Monitor," etc.) When awake or alive, this inner Godhead is the great guide of life---nay, is LIFE. It has nothing in common with the merely material or utilitarian. It demands spiritual adventuring. Therefore, the right way of viewing the world and ultimates is a spiritual one.

IV. TRANSCENDENTAL VIEW OF MAN: Man is a kind of "mediator" between God and Nature. As we have said, he has within him a fragment of God Himself, often called the "Conscience" or (in Coleridge's system) the "Divine Reason" and that is his true SELF. Self-Reliance, therefore, means leaning on these intuitions from God and actually is synonymous with God-Reliance. (It does not mean "doing as one damn pleases." That sort of antinomianism is the character only of the animal or material man.) When one allows God or the "higher SELF" to become operative--to flow, as it were, through one's life without throwing impediments in His way--when, in other words, one relies on the highest intuitions from the Inner Voice--then the Natural World without us can become a paradise, since (by postulate) the phenomenal world is, at best, a remoter incarnation of Deity and dependent upon man's spiritual condition for its "effects." Whenever man closes his life to God, then the outer world becomes "red in tooth and claw"---unfriendly, to say the least, and filled with war and hate. Man's goal should be to live his life according to the "highest principles" of his intuition, and then cast off his body and personality forever, allowing the God-element in him to return to the Oversoul whence it came. "Onward and upward forever!" [Note: The orthodox Hebrew-Christian world view is neither Transcendental nor Materialistic but a mid-position between them.]

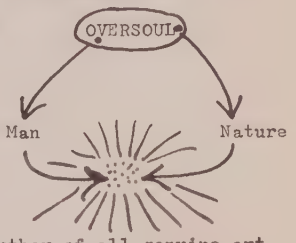


V. TRANSCENDENTAL VIEW OF NATURE: Nature is really a mirage or a dumb and plastic servant of God, not real as the spiritual world is real. Although the natural world is, in a sense, created through man (as we saw in the preceding section), in another sense (though this may sound paradoxical) it is independent of man and serves not only to reflect his interior "spiritual thermometer" reading but also to teach him spiritual truths which God or the Oversoul wishes to impart. (See the next section for the way in which this teaching is accomplished--for the bringing together of the two poles of the battery, as it were, to complete the electric circuit of BEING.) Nature, then, is a kind of mediator between the Oversoul and mankind. It takes the place of TORAH in Jewish thought and of CHRIST in Christian theology. Nature, in this system, therefore, is something infinitely more than the cut-and-dried subject explored by the departmental scientist of our day. The rich "ministry" of Nature to man is seen both in the Coleridgean and Swedenborgian "systems." Emerson sums them up in his little book, Nature, as (1) practical use or commodity, (2) Beauty; (3) Symbolic Language; (4) Spiritual Discipline; (5) Revelation of the Spirit or Oversoul in Mystical moments. Examples of nature "as language": Joyce Kilmer's tree; Professor "X" is an old fox! Emerson's rhodora. Example of nature as revealing the Spirit: Transparent-eyeball passage in Nature.



[Note: The speculative student will do well to examine the introductory chapters of volume I of Reinhold Niebuhr's The Nature and Destiny of Man for an illuminating discussion of the three ways of looking at God, at Man and at Nature: (1) The uncompromising Transcendental or Rational (Latin: Rationalis) view; (2) the materialistic view; (3) the middle view, which may be denominated the "Hebrew-Christian" or "Orthodox" view. This book can help the beginner make important distinctions. Profitable to the beginner also is the little handbook by John Grier Hibben, The Problems of Philosophy. The "problems" it outlines are expressed in nineteenth-century terms rather than in those of the current day. Hence its value to the student of Emerson's period.]

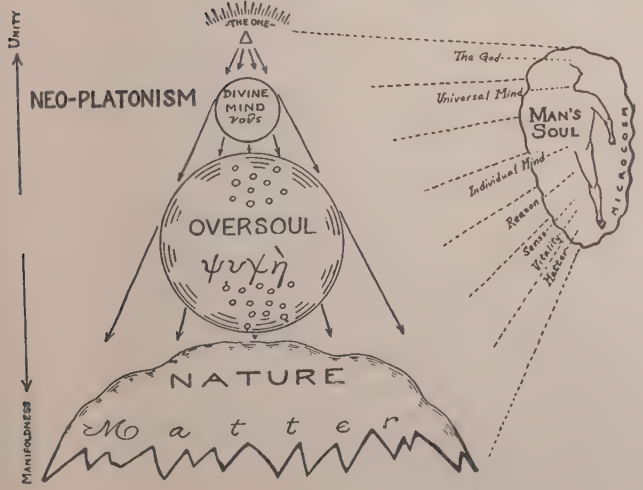
VI. THE TRANSCENDENTAL THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. It is concerned, especially, with how Nature is able to teach man and how man is able to receive this teaching. Spiritual growth in this world depends upon the "coincidence of Subject and Object"--that is, the coming together of the "God-within-a-man" and the "God or Spirit pervading or using the outer world. A useful image is that of a battery with positive and negative poles. One sees sparks only when the two poles are brought together. When the God within and the God without meet, Transcendentalists use the term "recognition." (Cf. Emerson's poem, "Rhodora.") So Idea within meets Divine Law without. The electric circuit is completed or, to phrase the thought a little differently, "spirit comes full circle home to itself, the barriers being removed." Since to the Transcendentalist, knowledge is a form of BEING or a condition and not a mere acquirement, at its best it is "mystical union" with God, "being caught up into the Seventh Heaven," a "beholding of the Infinite through transparent phenomena."



The great rule that functions in this "recognition" process is: Quantum sumus, scimus." (Like only can know like.) The Transcendentalists, therefore, tried by every means possible to develop their ethical and/or spiritual condition SO THAT THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO SEE MORE SPIRITUAL MEANING IN THE OUTER WORLD AND MIGHT MORE FREQUENTLY ENJOY THE BEATIFIC RAPTURE THAN MIGHT BE POSSIBLE OTHERWISE. Self-Reliance, therefore, meant striving to mount into this high, spiritual plane of intuition and occult recognition. (Cf. Wordsworth's "Peter Bell.")

VII. THE TRANSCENDENTAL THEORY OF ART: (See II.E above.) The Oversoul was the author of all genuine art. Man was merely a tool or channel. One ought, therefore, to allow the God-within to absorb as much beauty from the outer world as possible, allowing it to germinate in the highest level--the God-level--of the Mind until it be ready to flow forth with a divine enthusiasm into visible form. Since God was the all-important factor--the source of all aesthetic energy--the Transcendentalists like other Romanticists had contempt for man-made rules of art, man's attempts to restrain the artist by standardized or acceptable "forms," etc. Spontaneity, instantaneity, imagination, new combinations--were more important than neat stylization or patterns. (Hence Coleridge was content with his unfinished Kubla Khan and Christabel--and so are we! Hence Whitman's Leaves of Grass. Hence the interesting mixing of genres during this period, commonly called the "confusion of the arts.")

[The following chart of the Neo-Platonic system is repeated here from The Transcendental Workbook with the permission of the publishers. It is fully discussed in the Workbook.]



AT THE REQUEST OF ONE OF OUR PATRONS AND WITH PROFESSOR CAMERON'S PERMISSION, WE SHALL HENCEFORTH INCLUDE REPRINTS OF THE FOREGOING TWO ARTICLES IN ALL COPIES OF THE TRANSCENDENTAL WORKBOOK DESCRIBED IN OUR ADVERTISEMENT ON PAGE 21 OF THIS ISSUE.

TRANSCENDENTAL BOOKS
HARTFORD 1

LONGFELLOW'S "HELEN OF TYRE"

By RICHARD P. BENTON

"Helen of Tyre"[1] first appeared in Ultima Thule (1880), the last volume of Longfellow's verse to be published during his lifetime. The poem deals with two historical characters: Simon Magus, the alleged founder of Gnosticism, and Helen, a prostitute from the brothels of Tyre, who was his companion. Gnosticism was a syncretic heresy which flourished within the ranks of the Christian Church during the second century. Dissatisfied with the orthodox solution of the problems of creation, of the existence of evil, and of the redemption, the Gnostics drew upon pagan philosophies to develop a doctrine which suited them better. Holding that the Supreme God was distinct from the Creator of the World--whom they identified with the Old Testament God--they maintained a strict dualism between the spiritual and the material. Creation, they declared, had proceeded from the original Deity by a series of emanations known as aeons, or divine powers, whose sum constituted the pleroma. As matter, then, was the result of a rebellion against the Godhead, it was necessarily evil; and redemption, therefore, was a process opposite to the work of creation. Only a knowledge of Christ could deliver the spiritual element in man from the bondage of matter; and such knowledge, or gnosis, was confined to a chosen few. Indeed, Simon, the Magician, set himself up as the rival of Jesus the Messiah, representing himself both as God and the Word, and stressing the fact that a female principle, whom he identified with the prostitute Helen, had shared in the creative process, naming her his Ennoia, or the first conception of his mind.[2] In the Simonian school of Gnosticism, then, Simon and Helen symbolized the emancipation of the human spirit from the evil of matter.

Longfellow's interest in these Gnostic figures antedates the writing of the poem in 1879 by almost a decade.[3] They both appear in "The Divine Tragedy" (Part I of Christus, A Mystery) in a scene that was written in 1871;[4] and he makes particular mention of them in a journal entry dated February 26, 1872: "Heard Professor Sophocles on Simon Magus, very interesting and curious. Helen of Tyre he called his Epinoia [sic], or self-consciousness."[5] How much earlier he became concerned with Helen and Simon is uncertain. A prior involvement is known, however, from the contents of a note which is appended to the poet's translation of Canto XXX of Dante's "Paradiso," wherein he refers to Henry Hart Milman's History of Christianity and quotes a long passage which explains the significance of Simon and his relation to Helen.[6] Longfellow began translating The Divine Comedy in 1839, and the first edition of Milman's book came out the following year, to be succeeded by a new and revised edition in 1863. Whatever it was that first attracted the poet to these Gnostic personages, his interest in them eventually developed into an active sympathy. The tone of "Helen of Tyre" displays not only a heart-felt compassion for the downtrodden Helen but also an antipathy for Simon that is by no means absolute. Indeed, his attitude toward this heretic is not far removed from that toward the third-century hermetical writer, Hermes Trismegistus, of whom Longfellow dared to write: "Who shall call his dreams fallacious?"[7] If such an attitude is a reflection of that religious confusion which caused him, according to Augustus Hopkins Strong, to fluctuate between the poles of Pelagianism and agnosticism,[8] it also may not be without its intimations of tragic vision.

Paul Morin in Les Sources de l'Oeuvre de Henry Wadsworth Longfellow accounts for the apparent neglect of "Helen of Tyre" by calling it "une des plus obscures que le poète nous ait laissées."[9] But having observed Longfellow's note to Canto XXX of the "Paradiso" translation, he submits an excerpt from the Milman passage as an explanation of the poem:

> He [Simon] had a companion, Helena, according to the statement of his enemies, a beautiful prostitute, whom he found at Tyre, who became in like manner the first conception (the Ennoea) of the Deity; but who, by her conjunction with matter, had been enslaved to its malignant influence, and, having fallen under the power of evil angels, had been in a constant state of transmigration, and, among other mortal bodies, had occupied that of the famous Helen of Troy. Beausobre, who elevates Simon into a Platonic philosopher, explains the Helena as a sublime allegory. She was the Psyche of his philosophic romance. The soul, by evil influences, had become imprisoned in matter. By her the Deity had created the angels: the angels, enamoured of her, had inextricably entangled her in that polluting bondage, in order to prevent her return to heaven. To fly from their embraces, she had passed from body to body. Connecting this fiction with the Grecian mythology, she was Minerva, or impersonated Wisdom; perhaps, also, Helena, or embodied Beauty.[10]

This information does throw important light on "Helen of Tyre." But a poem is an independent linguistic structure, an organized symbolic process, which reflects the poet's creative experience. The historical significance of the things with which it deals, while important, is extrinsic rather than intrinsic to its special illumination, which is produced by and through the poem's locution, and not by any other means.

"Helen of Tyre" immediately arouses our curiosity by beginning with a question which includes a vague, though suggestive, image:

> What phantom is this that appears
> Through the purple mists of the years,
> Itself but a mist like these?

The very vagueness of the image in the query keeps us in suspense until we receive a more concrete reply:

> A woman of cloud and of fire;
> It is she; it is Helen of Tyre,
> The town in the midst of the seas.

Thus, the "phantom" is transformed into a concrete woman whose essential nature consists of the basic elements of water and fire; indeed, she is given further definition as a particular woman--Helen of Tyre.

In the "crowded streets" of the maritime city, the magic-lantern figure of Helen flickers nebulously, but brightly, as she "appears and retreats," apparently hesitant, on the edge of the crowd. Up to

this moment only the essential, or spiritual, nature of Helen has been revealed to us; now, however, the poet abruptly discloses her material, or human, nature in sharp focus by means of historical allusion:

> And the Israelites that sell
> Thy [Tyre's] lilies and lions of brass,
> Look up as they see her pass,
> And murmur "Jezebel!"

The transformation of the ethereal image into one composed of bones and blood and flesh catapults us to a humanistic plane: We see the prostitute's painted face, her gaudy drapery revealing the contours of her voluptuous figure as she walks; and we see the savage scorn glinting from the eye-slits of the Jewish hawkers as they spit out the opprobrious epithet denouncing the Gnostic pariah. The image "lilies and lions of brass" is not only an alliterative combination of liquids but also a suggestion of a particular historical setting. In Jewish literature the lily symbolizes "the trust in God which Israel should have in all afflictions, for its heart is directed upwards even when it grows amongst thorns;" and the lion represents the "sovereignty, strength and courage" of the tribe of Judah--one of the few figures which the Hebrews "admitted in sculpture or cast metal."[11] The implied comparison of Helen with the wicked, abandoned woman of the Biblical book of Kings is clear.

Having introduced us to Helen, the poet proceeds to usher in the one, who, in his eyes, is the really sinister figure--Simon Magus. Whereas Helen's image was cloudy bright, Simon's is "gray"; whereas her motion was simply apprehensive, his is crafty as he whispers into her ear.

> Then another phantom is seen
> At her side, in gray gabardine,
> With beard that floats to his waist;
> It is Simon Magus, the Seer;
> He speaks, and she pauses to hear
> The words he utters in haste.

The imagery that portrays Helen indicates her spiritual and material aspects, both of which have their own particular beauty (like the "Twin Venuses" of the Neo-Platonists); that which depicts Simon, however, merely points up his dark and artful nature.

In the fourth stanza, Simon divulges two tenets of his Gnostic creed: (1) the spiritual identity of Helen; and (2) the transmigration of her soul. He remonstrates to Helen:

> "From this evil fame,
> From this life of sorrow and shame,
> I will lift thee and make thee mine:
> Thou hast been Queen Candace,
> And Helen of Troy, and shalt be
> The Intelligence Divine!"

By this false promise, Simon is apparently displaying the illusion which tempts the Tyrian beauty to follow him. And here, it may be noted, the poet, following the Simonian theory of the transmigration of Helen's soul, interpolates a Queen Candace--a personage, who, incidentally, is not mentioned in the suggested source of Longfellow's ideas, the aforementioned work of Milman; but whose identity is in some doubt since a number of Queen Candaces are mentioned in history and legend.

The Queen Candace of the poem is evidently not the queen mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; for she was a contemporary of Helen of Tyre, and the poet would hardly have committed the error of suggesting simultaneous reincarnations. In the Helen-Simon tableau included in "The Divine Tragedy," however, Helen's soul is said to have occupied in the course of her transmigrations also the bodies of Rahab, the woman of Jericho who sheltered Joshua's spies; the Queen of Sheba who attempted to outwit King Solomon; Semiramis, the Assyrian princess; the Sarah of seven husbands; and Jezebel, the treacherous wife of King Ahab--all these in addition, of course, to Helen of Troy; but no Queen Candace is mentioned in this list. As all the women named in the scene are of "like allurements," the most fitting candidate for the Queen Candace of "Helen of Tyre" seems to be the monarch of Tarsus who lured Alexander the Great by her fascination to a life of sloth--her story being told in an episode of the medieval French Roman d'Alexandre.[12] No other Candace seems to fit the special requirements so well.

Poetically, the most important feature of stanza four is Longfellow's rendering of Simon's fanatic time-consciousness. The magician's mind is shown telescopically contracting the temporal continuum so that past, present, and future interpenetrate and fuse in a flash of promise and declaration as Simon swiftly and vividly depicts Helen as a series of fallen women, past and present, and as a redeemed divinity in the future, so that she is coalesced into a holistic image.

In stanzas five and six, the poet's attitude toward his subjects is projected into the foreground:

> Oh, sweet as the breath of morn,
> To the fallen and forlorn
> Are whispered words of praise;
> For the famished heart believes
> The falsehood that tempts and deceives,
> And the promise that betrays.
>
> So she follows from land to land
> The wizard's beckoning hand,
> As a leaf is blown by the gust,
> Till she vanishes into night.
> O reader, stoop down and write
> With thy finger in the dust.

This commentary shows clearly Longfellow's sympathy for the unfortunate Helen, a tone which may be sensed more acutely if one contrasts what she represents to the poet with what those women who constitute her spiritual ancestry represent to mankind. Helen of Troy, the Alexandrian Candace, Rahab, the Queen of Sheba, Semiramis, the much-married Sarah, and Jezebel are examples of Fatal Women, females who were wanton, diabolic and cruel, veritable she-devils; representative of that archetypal Femme Fatale, who, as Mario Praz remarks, has been "successively incarnate in all ages and all lands," uniting "in itself all forms of seduction, all vices, and all delights."[13] Helen of Tyre would ordinarily be considered in this category;[14] but--and this is the point--Longfellow distinctly does not see her from this point of view. On the contrary, he takes the ironic position of treating her as a persecuted woman, who is deceived and seduced by a villain. This

archetype of the Persecuted Maiden is, as Praz observes, "as old as the world."[15] Hypnotized by the illusion projected by Simon, she becomes obedient to his every gesture, the image of his "beckoning hand" signifying his power over her. The poet's sympathy is clearly on the side of her whose "famished heart believes / The falsehood that tempts and deceives," and is given conclusive emphasis when he, after her disappearance, addresses the reader and requests him to perform the ritualistic act of stooping down and writing in the dust. The allusion is indubitably to the famous account of Jesus' dealing with the woman taken in adultery in John 8:1-11, whom the scribes and Pharisees were inclined to stone to death. His famous words, "He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her," and the accusers' subsequent withdrawal one by one come immediately to the reader's mind. Longfellow seems to be saying here, "Reader of my poem, treat Helen of Tyre as the Master dealt with the harlot of Jerusalem." By this request, he draws each of us into the dramatic action of the lines. The poet's attitude toward Simon, however, stands in direct contrast. The sorcerer is both deceiver and self-deceived.[16] He not only fashions his companion into an instrument for his own selfish manipulation but also deludes himself in the belief that he is the Godhead and she his Ennoia, and both these factors are the direct result of his brazen conceit, or, one might say, his hubris. Yet while the poet is contemptuous of Simon to some degree, his attitude remains almost nugatory and concludes with a note of regret for the passing of one, who, after all, was a very colorful fellow in his time. "Who shall call his dreams fallacious?" Who knows so much? "Humanum est errare."

The last stanza is a little elegy. Up to this point the poet has succeeded in maintaining unity; but with stanza seven his thought swerves obliquely. Turning his attention away from the two principals, he focuses it on Tyre, which he addresses as a person:

> O town in the midst of the seas,
> With thy rafts of cedar-trees,
> Thy merchandise and thy ships,
> Thou, too, art become as naught,
> A phantom, a shadow, a thought,
> A name upon men's lips.

The implied analogy in the fourth line marks a feeble attempt to link the passing of the Gnostic figures from the historical scene with the similar disappearance of the ancient seaport once known as "the jewel of Phoenicia." The ubi sunt motif of lamenting the ruins of empire was apparently too strong an attraction for the romantic Longfellow to forego.

The theme of "Helen of Tyre" is the power of our delusions to influence our actions. In sustaining this theme, the poet uses many synonymous words like "phantom," which dominate the first three stanzas, "Magus" and "Seer." In the fourth-through-sixth stanzas, the parallels are "falsehood," "deceives," "betrays," "wizard," and "dust." And in stanza seven, "phantom" is re-introduced in an effort to consolidate his theme.

Longfellow, perhaps, wrote better poems than "Helen of Tyre:" "Snow-Flakes," "Jugurtha," "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," "The Tide Rises, the Tide Falls," "In the Churchyard at Cambridge," "Seaweed," "The Skeleton in Armor," "My Lost Youth," "The Fire of Drift-Wood," and the first sonnet of his translation of Dante's Divine Comedy, among others.[17] If "Helen of Tyre" may not be included among his most successful productions, at least it is one of the most interesting for the light it throws on his thought.

--Trinity College, Hartford.

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1 Complete Works, Craigie ed., Boston, 1904, III, 277-278.

2 Leighton Pullan, The History of Early Christianity, New York, 1898, 220ff. For an original source, see Irenaeus' work.

3 According to a note prefaced to the poem in the Complete Works, it was written on December 1 of that year.

4 Note prefaced to "Helen of Tyre" in the Works.

5 Ibid. The entry is printed in Samuel Longfellow's edition of The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Boston and New York, 1891, III, 196. The professor was Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles (1807-1883), Professor of Greek at Harvard and a close friend of the poet.

6 Works, XI, note 147.

7 "Hermes Trismegistus," Works, III, 317-318. Written in 1881.

8 American Poets and Their Theology, Philadelphia, 1916, 223 and 241f.

9 Paris, 1913, 439.

10 Paul Morin, op cit., 440. The passage appears in the 1863 edition of Milman, II, 47-48.

11 Maurice H. Farbridge, Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism, London and New York, 1923, 46 and 69.

12 For further information on this legend, see George Cary's The Medieval Alexander, Cambridge, [Eng.], 1956.

13 The Romantic Agony, tr. Angus Davidson, N.Y., 1956, 209-210. The whole of Chapter IV, entitled "La Belle Dame Sans Merci," is devoted to a discussion of the archetype of the Fatal Woman. Among those discussed are Helen of Troy, Semiramis, the Queen of Sheba, Jezebel, and Helen of Tyre as she appears in Flaubert's La Tentation de Saint Antoine.

14 Praz calls her "pathetic," but discusses her as a Fatal Woman because Flaubert views her in the same way he looked upon Cleopatra in L'Education sentimentale--as "the perfect incarnation of antique desire." (Ibid., 212). In La Tentation she is used as a lure to tempt St. Anthony to betray his faith. It is interesting to note that Longfellow's French contemporary was also fascinated by Helen and Simon, and that Flaubert's novel was published in its final form (fragments had been published in 1859) in 1874, four years before the appearance of the American's poem. An excerpt from Flaubert's description of the Ennoia is quoted by Praz (Op. cit., 212-213): "Elle a été l'Hélène des Troyens, dont le poète Stésichore a maudit la mémoire. Elle a été Lucrèce, la patricienne violée par les rois. Elle a été Dalila, qui coupait les cheveux de Samson. Elle a été cette fille d'Israël qui s'abandonnait aux boucs. Elle a aimé l'adultère, l'idolâtrie, le mensonge et la sottise. Elle s'est prostituée à tous les peuples. Elle a chanté dans tous les carrefours. Elle a baisé tous les visages. A

Tyr, la Syrienne, elle était la maîtresse des voleurs. Elle buvait avec eux pendant les nuits, et elle cachait les assassins dans la vermine de son lit tiède .... Innocente comme le Christ, qui est mort pour les hommes, elle s'est dévouée pour les femmes.... Elle est Minerve! elle est le Saint-Esprit!" It is obvious that if Longfellow read La Tentation before writing about Helen, he invented her reincarnations with the exception of the Troy beauty.

15 Praz, 95. Chapter III is mostly devoted to a discussion of the archetype of the Persecuted Maiden in literary tradition. For instance, Richardson's heroine Clarissa Harlowe, is cited as a perfect example of this pattern.

16 In "The Divine Tragedy," the relative positions of Helen and Simon in regard to their responsibilities for their conditions are clearly stated. The magician boasts to his concubine: "I am the Power of God, and the Beauty of God! / I am Paraclete, the Comforter!" She replies: "Illusions! Thou deceiver, self-deceived!"

17 For the best modern re-evaluation of Longfellow's poetry, see George Arms, The Fields Were Green, Stanford, Calif., 1953. "Helen of Tyre," however, is not discussed.

EMERSON AND THE MYTH OF NEW ENGLAND'S INTELLECTUAL LAPSE

By LEWIS P. SIMPSON

Emerson's letter to William Buell Sprague concerning William Emerson's religious convictions is, as Professor Cameron observes, one of the few extant remarks Emerson made about his father.[1] The rarity of its subject matter would appear to exhaust its possibilities. To learn that William Emerson, pastor of Boston's First Church from 1799 until his death in 1811, was inclined to "what is ethical and universal in Christianity; very little to the personal and historical" and that he was given to "a studied reserve on the subject of the nature and offices of Jesus" is to discover nothing unexpected or illuminating. Emerson's letter to Sprague, however, claims one's attention not in its content, but in its very lack of substance. Pointedly brief and vacuous, it is a clear indication that Emerson found nothing in his father's preaching to inspire more than a polite, nominal response to the editor of the Annals of the American Pulpit.

A franker reaction to Sprague's query is to be found in another letter by Emerson, one to his brother William in 1850. In this Emerson expresses his embarrassment over requests he has received for a biographical sketch of their father. (In addition to the solicitation from Sprague, he had had others from Josiah Quincy, who was at work on his History of the Boston Athenaeum, and from William Ware, who was engaged in editing his American Unitarian Biography.) He goes on to remark of their father: "I was only eight years old when he died, & only remember a somewhat social gentleman, but severe to us children, who twice or thrice put me in mortal terror by forcing me into salt water off some wharf or bathing house, and I still recall the fright with which, after some of this salt experience, I heard his voice one day, (as Adam that of the Lord God in the garden,) summoning us to a new bath, and I vainly endeavouring to hide myself." Perhaps a clever psychoanalytical biographer of Emerson might make something of this recollection from his early childhood by the middle-aged Emerson. And he might, if he were sensitive to the pieties of New England family life, make something of what immediately follows in the letter: "I have never heard any sentence or sentiment of his repeated by Mother or Aunt [Mary Moody Emerson]...." Yet it would be wrong to think Emerson sensed family indifference or hostility to the memory of his parent. He was simply judging his father's literary quality --commonplace, imitative, docile, both in style and idea, incapable of perpetuating the man beyond the grave even in the bosom of his lettered family. To his son the literary relics of William Emerson were the pallid mirror of his age, "that early ignorant & transitional Month-of-March, in our New England culture."

Emerson concludes the letter, to be sure, with a more positive interpretation of his father's significance: "His literary merits really are that he fostered the Anthology & the Athenaeum." These early growths "ripened into" Joseph Stevens Buckminster, William Ellery Channing, and Edward Everett.[2] From the standpoint of historical accuracy this is, of course, an inexact metaphor. Joseph Stevens Buckminster (1784-1812), the brightest ornament of the Boston pulpit in his brief day, lived hardly more than long enough to preach William Emerson's funeral sermon; and William Ellery Channing (1780-1842) had been in the pulpit almost a decade when Emerson's father died. Both were contemporary with the Anthology Society and the founding of the Boston Athenaeum. In the case of Edward Everett (1794-1865), Emerson's figure of speech is more apt; for in a very real sense he was a product of the cultural aspiration embodied in such ventures as the Monthly Anthology and Boston Review (1803-1811) and the Athenaeum, which grew out of the Anthology Reading Room set up in 1806.

New England's intellectual history--or lack of it--during the generation preceding his own continued to interest Emerson. Two years after his letter to his brother, he confided to his Journal a more explicit and more unsympathetic reading of its quality: "To write a history of Massachusetts, I confess, is not inviting to an expansive thinker.... [sic] Since, from 1790 to 1820, there was not a book, a speech, a conversation, or a thought in the State. About 1820, the Channing, Webster, and Everett era begun, and we have been bookish and poetical and cogitative since."[3] Not a book, a speech, a conversation, or a thought in one whole dreary generation of New England life--Emerson's tribal impiety would have been judged by an Andrews Norton to be as extreme as his religious irreverence. But the statement in the Journal displays a logical extension of the view expressed earlier in the letter to William. "About 1820" a new literary and intellectual era suddenly commenced. No allowance is made for a transition, a raw March of incipient growth. One notes, incidentally, that Emerson has replaced Buckminster with Daniel Webster (1782-1852) in the trinity of literary originators. This hardly lessens the confusion. Webster was born two years after Channing and, like him, was largely moulded in the century's first decade.

After the Civil War when Emerson put together his brilliant essay entitled "Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England," he generalized his rejection of his father's world in terms of a comprehensive theory of history: "There are always two parties, the party of the Past and the Party of the Future; the Establishment and the Movement. At times the resistance is reanimated, the schism runs under the world and appears in Literature, Philosophy, Church, State, and social customs. It is not easy to date these eras of activity with any precision, but in this region one made itself remarked, say in 1820 and the twenty years following."[4] Obviously this concept of a clash between the Establishment and the Movement allows for a broader and more discerning treatment of New England's intellectual history than does either the Month-of-March idea or the theory of a complete lapse of intellect between 1790 and 1820. For the implication is that the years preceding 1820 represent a period of domination by the Establishment; no longer are they merely a crude transition or else a blank. Yet this is only by implication. The essay is devoted to characterizing the Movement and pays no attention to the configurations of the Establishment.

In documenting the origin of the Movement, Emerson once again calls on Channing and Everett. (Buckminster and Webster do not find places in the "Historic Notes.") Channing's role is not specifically related to the period around 1820, although his famous "Sermon at the Ordination of Jared Sparks," preached in 1819, is the locus classicus of American Unitarianism. In addition to Channing's general influence, Emerson points to his essays on Milton and on Napoleon, "immediately fruitful in provoking emulation which lifted the style of journalism," and to his part in arranging a circle for "serious conversation" in Boston during the forties. Everett assumes the most dramatic role in Emerson's recreation of the origins of the New England Renaissance. His was a verbal role, the product of "an inspiration which did not go beyond his head, but which made him the master of elegance" both on the lecture platform and in the pulpit. From his "sculptured lips" came Boston's first enraptured acquaintance with the German critics like Wolff and Heyne; from "his voice and genius" came a new appreciation for Milton. His popularity as a lecturer established "popular literary and miscellaneous lecturing" as an institution in New England. "I am quite certain," Emerson says, "that this purely literary influence was of the first importance to the American mind."[5]

Despite its breadth of conception and its fascinating evocation of the young Everett in his Periclean role, the "Historic Notes" does little or nothing to modify Emerson's idea of an intellectual and literary hiatus in New England for around thirty years. If one had no sources of the history of the New England mind in the first half of last century save this essay, he would be forced to conclude that the careers of Channing and Everett originated spontaneously.

Emerson's more or less incidental, imprecise, yet total rejection of his father's generation must be located in two contexts: one, the mid-century sense of cultural achievement, and, two, Emerson's massive refusal of the eighteenth-century rationalistic heritage. By the 1850's, as Professor Perry Miller has observed, Emerson not only felt the conviction of personal achievement but shared with his contemporaries the feeling that in their time New England had come of age.[6] At "the moment of adult health, the culmination of power" the era of the Monthly Anthology and William Emerson seemed indeed remote and bleak.[7] The significance of the other context, Emerson's rejection of the eighteenth century, has been suggested more sharply, perhaps, by Professor Sherman Paul than by any other student of Emerson. He shows how early nineteenth-century New Englanders in their dedication to the "Lockean understanding" took "from the manifold riches of the eighteenth century those elements of method and philosophy which, in terms of their spiritual needs, were showing the most effects of hardening and inutility."[8] Similarly, one may add, they tended to take the literary theories and techniques of the Age of Pope and Johnson which, in terms of their literary requirements, were the least useful. The result was dependence on an inhibiting formalism and imitativeness which Emerson cast off in its entirety. His letter to William, his comment in his Journal, and his remarks in the "Historic Notes" are brief, revealing glimpses into some of the intimacies of his rejection of the past, the negative counterpart of his great affirmation of self-reliant individualism.

Emerson's concept of New England's intellectual lapse, one realizes, was a necessity of his vision. He did not explain his attitude by historical examination and documentation. He had no reason to do so.

The man with the reason came in the next century. He was Vernon L. Parrington, who in his enormously influential, thesis-ridden Main Currents in American Thought employs Emerson's cold dictum to the effect that from 1790 to 1820 not a book, speech, conversation, or thought existed in Massachusetts, as the major text of his chapter on the New England Renaissance. After beginning by quoting Emerson's assertion, Parrington argues that "in its contemptuous dismissal of the age of Fisher Ames and Robert Treat Paine" the statement is "scarcely unjust." He continues:

> The utter sterility of those old times Emerson understood only too well. It was the world of his own youth, whose pale negations he had come to hate. The creative impulse was stifled, the mind had grown stale from a tedious iteration. But at last the old barriers gave way, and into this narrow illiberal world, that had long fed on the crusts of English rationalism and Edwardean dogmatism--dry as a remainder biscuit after voyage--broke the floods that had been gathering in Europe for years, the water of all the streams of revolution that were running there bankfull. Before this inundation the old provincialisms were swept away, and for the first time in its history, and the last, the mind of New England gave itself over to a great adventure in liberalism.[9]

In Parrington's version of the New England Renaissance, it was a total revolt against a constricting parochialism which had delayed the flowering by a whole generation. The sources of this revolt lay in the romantic revolution and in "a sudden reawakening of the ethical passion of Puritanism...; a vision of a new heaven and a new earth that it proposed to

take by storm."[10]

So Emerson's notion of New England's mental interregnum emerged from the zealous imagination of Parrington a dramatic myth. A hybrid liberalism--compounded of French rationalism, New England mysticism, German metaphysics, and literary romanticism--assumes the role of the hero and savior, who awakens the slumbering New England mind from "the nightmare dreams of Calvinism that debased human nature, and the counting-house dreams of Federalism that conceived of man as an exploitative animal."[11]

How much influence has this myth had on the recent writing of American literary and intellectual history? The purpose of these few comments is chiefly to point to its origin in Emerson and to note its perpetuation in Parrington. Consequently this question cannot be answered satisfactorily here. Two or three observations, however, may be added.

For one thing, in the great amount of writing concerning the nineteenth century American intellect, literary and otherwise, during the past several years there is almost no place where the period condemned by Emerson and Parrington is taken very seriously. It may be, and usually is, ignored; if noticed, it may be treated patronizingly and/or inaccurately. For example, in his excellent biography of George Bancroft, Professor Russel B. Nye emphasizes the somnolent quality of the intellectual life of early nineteenth-century Massachusetts, adhering in general to the Parringtonian contrast between this time and the later period. And even Van Wyck Brooks, who in the Flowering of New England paints a colorful impressionistic picture of the age of the Monthly Anthology and the Athenaeum, is inaccurate in certain details and has a tendency to stress its quaintness.[12]

For the most accurate history, factual and emotional, of the indigenous background of the Transcendental Age--for this is what the time of Emerson's father represents--one must still turn, some sixty-five years after its original publication, to Henry Adams's classic History of the United States, 1790-1817. Adams accepts the era of William Emerson and Joseph Stevens Buckminster on its own terms; he sees into the limitations placed on its intellect by politics, but at the same time he suggests its renascent quality and its relation to the future. Adams, for instance, correctly views the Monthly Anthology as a more significant publication than the Philadelphia Port Folio and points out that it "far surpassed any literary standards then existing in the United States, and was not much inferior to any in England...." He observes the importance of the Athenaeum and of the quickening of Harvard University, which was sending forth a series of graduates destined to help create the literary life of the next half century. He describes the rise of religious liberalism. In short, in his brief survey of the early 1800's in New England, Adams urges upon the reader the spirit of intellectual aspiration and literary ambition that had begun to exert itself in this region.[13]

And, finally, one may venture to say, it was the aspiration of the New England intellect in the early nineteenth century that counted. The outward and visible signs of it, such as the Monthly Anthology, the early North American Review, the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Athenaeum, and so on, Adams possibly treats too kindly. They were limited and imitative. But the careful inquirer into their meaning sees the aspiration they expressed reveal the shaping force of its inner history. "In the usual course of national aggrandizement," Buckminster said before a Phi Beta Kappa audience in 1809," it is almost certain, that those of you, who shall attain to old age, will find yourselves citizens of an empire unparalleled in extent; but is it probable, that you will have the honor of belonging to a nation of men of letters?"[14] This was the question. Was it probable, even possible? The response to the question was a quest to establish the fraternity and authority of the vocation of mind amid the conditions of the new national existence. It was a response made in various ways all over the infant Republic, nowhere, though, more insistently than in the Boston of William Emerson; whose personal response in 1804 was to add to his burden of duties the editorship of the almost stillborn Monthly Anthology and to help create the Society which carried it through ten volumes. Out of such "bookish" and "poetical," if not highly "cogitative," efforts emerged the most coherent community of letters America has ever developed and the only genuine literary center it has ever had. This was the literary world of the Saturday Club, the mature North American Review, the Christian Examiner, and the Atlantic Monthly; of Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, Ticknor, Prescott, and Motley. And of Emerson, one of the founders of the Saturday Club.[15]

This is not to try to make Emerson out as essentially a conservative or a traditionalist, as some have done. It is, however, to suggest that the distance between William Emerson at the supper table of the Anthology Society and Ralph Waldo Emerson at the Saturday Club needs to be measured more accurately than it has been heretofore. Certainly the distance in some directions is very great. Yet Emerson, even when he revolted against it, existed in a literary environment his father helped to create. If in this environment one could not altogether assume the vocation of the mind, he could almost take it for granted. And under the conditions of the emergent American democracy this made all the difference.[16]

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1 See Kenneth Walter Cameron, "Emerson on his Father and Step-grandfather, Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 6, pp. 16-17 (I Quarter 1957). Professor Cameron reprints the letter which appears in Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, N.Y., 1859-1873, VIII, 244-245, together with one on William Emerson by Charles Lowell to be found in the same place.

2 R. W. E. to William Emerson, Letters, ed. Rusk, IV, 178-179. The best account of the life of Emerson's father is in Rusk's Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson, N.Y., 1949, pp. 1-29.

3 Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, VIII, 339.

4 Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, X, 325.

5 Ibid., X, 330-335.

6 See The Transcendentalists, Cambridge, [Mass.], 1950, p. 16.

7 In the essay on Plato in Representative Men, Emerson observes: "There is a moment in the history of every nation, when, proceeding out of this brute youth, the perceptive powers reach their ripeness. ... That is the moment of adult health, the culmin-

ation of power." (Works, IV, 46-47).
8 Emerson's Angle of Vision, Cambridge, 1952, 13-14.
9 Main Currents in American Thought, N.Y., 1927, 1930, II, 317.
10 Ibid., II, 273.
11 Ibid. Parrington, writing before Rusk's edition of the Letters, likely had no knowledge of the "Month-of-March" letter, and he makes no discernible use of the "Historic Notes."
12 See Russel B. Nye, George Bancroft: Brahmin Rebel, N.Y., 1944, p. 4; Van Wyck Brooks, The Flowering of New England, revised ed., Cleveland and N.Y., 1946, pp. 1-20. Brooks is particularly misleading when he says that the Monthly Anthology "defended Pope against all comers." The quarrel over the merits of Pope in the pages of the magazine is one of its significant features for the literary historian.
13 See Henry Adams, History of the United States, N.Y., 1890, IX, 201-208.
14 "On the Dangers and Duties of Men of Letters," Monthly Anthology, VII, 146 (September, 1809).
15 Parrington greatly distorts Emerson's relation to Boston. "Emerson would have none of Boston." (Main Currents, II, 398). On the contrary, even though he was at times sharply critical of the city, Emerson had a great deal of Boston and admired the cultural significance of "the Boston which animates other souls born of it, or adopted spiritually into it, and in all quarters of their dispersion, drawing inspiration from it...." (Journals, IX, 568). His identification with this Boston unquestionably enhanced Emerson's influence in the country as a whole. Cf. Sherman Paul, Emerson's Angle of Vision, p. 11.
16 The present writer has elsewhere endeavored to look closely at some aspects of the time of William Emerson. See three articles by Lewis P. Simpson: "'The Intercommunity of the Learned': Boston and Cambridge in 1800," New England Quarterly, XXIII, 491-503 (Dec., 1950); "A Literary Adventure of the Early Republic: the Anthology Society and the Monthly Anthology," N E Q, XXVII, 168-190 (June, 1954); "'Not Men, but Books,'" Boston Public Library Quarterly, IV, 167-184 (Oct., 1952). The last deals with the background of Ticknor's and Everett's first journey to Europe. Further studies by the same writer are in progress: an edition of writings from the Monthly Anthology and a book tracing the pattern of literary and intellectual development in the Boston-Cambridge community during the early nineteenth century.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL IN GANDHI'S *INDIAN OPINION*

By GEORGE HENDRICK

Extracts from the works of Tolstoy, Thoreau, Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison and many others whose views supported the non-violent Indian struggle in South Africa were published in Gandhi's newspaper, Indian Opinion. The short essay on James Russell Lowell which follows demonstrates again the impact of creative writers upon Gandhi and his fellow-workers in the early stages of the Satayagraha campaigns. The essay on Lowell was signed H.M. and was undoubtedly written by Mansukhlal Hiralal Nazar (the first two initials were reversed), Editor of Indian Opinion from its founding in 1903 until his death in 1906.

Nazar, born in India in 1862, studied at Elphinstone College in Bombay and was often first in his class, but he was restless and did not complete his studies. As a young man, Nazar decided to use "his life for the service of his country." He lived in London several years and worked for many Indian causes. Gandhi noted that Nazar came into contact with Max Müller and other Orientalists "and by his accurate knowledge of Oriental literature, commanded their admiration."[1]

Gandhi felt that without Nazar Indian Opinion would never have come into being: "In the initial stages of its struggle, Mr. Nazar took up almost the whole of the editorial burden."[2] He would not, however, write on the "intricate South African problems" whenever Gandhi was available.[3] Gandhi supervised all aspects of Indian Opinion, and he without doubt read and approved the Lowell essay:

[sic]

JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL: A LOVER OF FREEDOM

Lowell was a poet who made his message felt in all he wrote. No one will call him a great poet; but the man who has come under his spell can never forget the searching influence of his teaching. He had a wholesome hatred of all artificial methods, and gave his whole strength of intellect and character to express in simple and plain language the truths which he felt to be right. In this short appreciation, one phase only of his teaching can be dealt with, and that is his love of freedom--freedom in all departments of life. He lived in an age of slavery, when North and South America were in bitter strife over the slave question; and though much of his poetry was written for the freedom of those particular unfortunates, he lifted the question from the local and applied it universally. Wherever there is oppression and slavery; wherever man has forgotten his duty to his brother; there is the true man's work. In that quarter must he lift the glorious banner of freedom. Lowell had no narrow conception of patriotism. Not only amongst his own people must a true patriot strike a blow for freedom, but anywhere in the wide world his voice should be raised.

Where is the true man's fatherland?
  Is it where he by chance is born?
  Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
In such scant border's to be spanned?
Oh yes? his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

  . . .

Where'er a single slave doth pine,
  Wher'er one man may help another,—
  Thank God for such a birthright, brother,—
That spot of earth is thine and mine!
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

Sometimes in the struggle for freedom a man will find himself between allegiance to a state and those institutions which tell him his country is wrong. Here Lowell makes it plain what is the duty of every true man.

We owe allegiance to the State: but deeper, truer
  more,
To the sympathies that God hath set within our
  spirit's core;

Our country claims our fealty; we grant it so, but
then
Before Man made us citizens, Great Nature made us men.

• • •

He's true to God who's true to man; wherever wrong is
done,
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-be-
holding sun,
That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves
most base
Whose love of right is for themselves, but not for
all their race.

In matters of religion, Lowell showed his broad and tolerant spirit in many of his poems. Religion in his view was not a narrow and cramped revelation to a particular people or period. No! God had always spoken to his children and continues to do so in all lands and to all races:

God sends his teachers unto every age,
To every clime and every race of men,
With revelations fitted to their growth
And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of Truth
Into the selfish rule of one sole race!
Therefore each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of man, and given it to grasp
The master-key of knowledge, reverence,
Infolds some germs of goodness and of right;
Else never had the eager soul, which loathes
The slothful down of pampered ignorance,
Found in it even a moment's fitful rest.

Lowell was no mere dreamer, he was a poet who had a message for the statesman and the man of business, a message which could be translated by anyone in civic and commercial intercourse. It is pleasing to know that Lowell's own life bore out to the full those principles which he so strenuously proclaimed. Those who seek a bracing and manly gospel, should make a study of Lowell; even if they do not agree with him, they cannot but be struck with his downright sincerity and honesty of purpose.

H. M.[4]

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1 Indian Opinion, Jan. 27, 1906, p. 45.
2 M. K. Gandhi, Autobiography, Washington, D.C., 1948, p. 347. 3 Ibid.
4 Indian Opinion, Nov. 25, 1905, pp. 798-799.

— University of Colorado.

A GARLAND OF EMERSON LETTERS

By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

(1) EMERSON TO RICHARD HENRY DANA, SR., [? CAMBRIDGE], May 13, 1826. MS. in the Longfellow House in Cambridge. During a part of 1826, R.W.E. kept a school there, numbering among his pupils Richard Henry Dana, Jr., and Stephen Higginson, Jr. This letter--See facsimile on page 33--probably concerned tuition fees. On February 9, 1829, Emerson recommended Stephen Higginson, Jr., to his brother William in New York. See Letters, I, 169 and 263.

Dear Sir,

I am obliged to you for sending the note which is written under a misapprehension. For fear of any similar one on the same subject I enclose to you the one I first received & on account of which I put the bill to M[r] Higginson.

Respectfully yours &c

R. Waldo Emerson.

May 13.
1826.

(2) RICHARD HENRY DANA, SR., TO NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS, CAMBRIDGE, FEBRUARY 9, 1829. This is a fragment of a rough draft, written at the bottom of the foregoing letter. See the facsimile on page 33.

... way to close with the wish that your labours may meet their well deserved reward.

With great regard yrs

R H Dana

Cambridge Feb 9 —29

(3) EMERSON TO ELIZABETH PALMER PEABODY, CONCORD, OCTOBER 30, 1838. MS. in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Fenway Court, Boston 15. It is addressed to "Miss E. P. Peabody, Salem, Mass." Rusk printed an incomplete draft in Letters, II, 170-171, which see for commentary.

Concord, 30 October, 1838.

My dear Miss Peabody,

I have to acknowledge a kind letter to me, then one to my wife containing another for me, received by Mr Very, last Wednesday. He has been here until yesterday morning, when I carried him to Waltham on his way to Cambridge. I have been very happy in his visit as soon as I came to understand his vocabulary. I wish the whole world were as mad as he. He discredits himself, I think, by a certain violence, I may say, of thought & speech: but it is quite superficial: he is profoundly sane, and as soon as his thoughts subside from their present excited to a more natural state, I think he will make all men sensible of it. If it shall prove that his peculiarities are fixed, it can never alter the value of the truth & illumination he communicates, if you deal with him with perfect sincerity. At a 'Teachers Meeting' held at my house, last Sunday evening, I noticed that he passed with some of the company for insane, but all were struck with his insight. My own family have been delighted with him, though he assured us he hated us all.

Bought by H.W.L. Dana, May 17, 1934, Anderson Galleries.
Photostat under Dana letters.

B 26
no. 13

Dear Sir, I am obliged to you for sending the note which is written under a misapprehension. For fear of any similar one on the same subject I enclose to you the one I first received from account of which I sent the bill to Mr Higginson.

Respectfully Yours etc
R. Waldo Emerson

May 13.
1826.

I shall keep his two Dissertations a little while & then return them to him. I mean to have them copied because I am not sure that I understand the whole import of the first one.

I shall presently send to Cambridge, to William Howes' care, the Heeren volumes, with which, I believe, I have now done. I think I will not borrow the Levana, which you & Miss Burley so kindly offer. I am looking for nothing in that direction. If I hear anything good or great of the book, it will then be time. I am a poor scholar in the particular of much reading. I shall not fail to see the article on Art in the Democratic Review: and am, with great regard,

Yours,

R. W. Emerson.

(4) EMERSON TO SAMUEL LONGFELLOW, CONCORD, APRIL ? 14, 1843. MS. in the Longfellow House. Postmarked: Boston MS APR 13. It is possible that the letter is inscribed April 11; corrected to April 14. Samuel Longfellow is addressed in Cambridge.

Concord, April 14. 1843

My dear Sir,

I return Mr Wheeler's letter with thanks for your kind attention in sending it to me. I should have sent it sooner, but your note requesting its return did not reach me until last night. I have heard with grief of Robert Bartlett's failure, and Mr Reed, his friend, whom I saw in Boston, had no good news to give me; but the sea, & change of climate sometimes work wonders, & we must hope for better tidings.

Your obliged servant,

R. W. Emerson.

(5) EMERSON TO SAMUEL LONGFELLOW, CONCORD, MAY 13, 1846. MS. in the Longfellow House. Postmarked: CONCORD MS MAY 14. The recipient was addressed at Cambridge. Inside the letterfold is an interesting draft of the hymn, "We love the venerable house...," one form of which was sung at the Second Church when the Rev. Chandler Robbins was ordained in 1831. See the facsimile on pages 35 and 36. Compare the version in Works, IX, 223-224 and 478.

Concord, 13 May, 1846

Mr Samuel Longfellow,

Dear Sir,

I have recovered the old hymn which you ask for, & send a copy of it. In transcribing it, I have mended it, I hope, a little; Yet it is easy to see that a little labour would make it much better. But I am constrained today to let it go as it is, or not at all; and you shall print it or leave it, as you will.

Yours respectfully,

R. W. Emerson.

(6) EMERSON TO WILLIAM ALLINGHAM, MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, MARCH 2, 1848. See Letters, IV, 28, for its place in the Emerson-Allingham correspondence. MS. owned by the present editor.

2 Penny Street; Higher
Broughton; Manchester,
2 March;

My dear Sir,

I was vexed indeed by learning from your note received on my way through Westmoreland, day before yesterday, that I had seemed to you negligent of your last kind communication. I even fancied that I had already written to you long since, as I should have done. But I have lived such a wandering desultory life since I have been in this country, and with so violent a change of all my habits, that you must forgive me this omission. I received & read with great interest your note & lines which I had at Birmingham, and certainly thought of nothing less than dropping my new correspondence. I esteemed it, rather, something quite secure, & which could well bear the silence of many days. Perhaps I shall soon find a little leisure for an adequate return for the same. Meantime, I pray you to appreciate the compliment of my replying to a note which came to me open through another correspondent; which pleases me never. I am on my way to London, where my address is (Care of John Chapman, 142 Strand.)

R. W. Emerson

(7) EMERSON TO WILLIAM MATHEWS, LONDON, MARCH 29, 1848. MS. owned by the present editor.

142 Strand London
29 March

My dear Sir,

I have been so variously occupied,—with my little skill as traveler, too,—that I have not seen Mr Carlyle,- since I saw you, until last night; and then I arranged with him, that, if it would suit your convenience, you & I should call on him this evening. I am sorry to learn at your Hotel that you have left town. I am going tomorrow to Oxford, for a couple of days; and when you are in town again, if you will be good enough to call on me, as you pass, we will fix an evening for Chelsea.

Yours respectfully,

R. W. Emerson

W. Mathews, Esq.

We love the venerable house
Our fathers built to God;
In heaven are kept their grateful vows,
Their dust endears the sod.

Here holy thoughts a light have shed
From many a radiant face,
And prayers of ~~humble~~ tender hope have spread
A ~~fra~~ perfume through the place.

And anxious hearts have pondered here
The mystery of life,
And prayed the eternal Spirit to clear
Their doubts, and aid their strife.

From humble tenements around
Came up the worship train,
And in the Church a blessing found
Which filled their homes again,

For faith & peace & mighty love [See Item 5, page 34]
That from the Godhead flow
Showed them the life of heaven above
Springs from the life below.

They live with God, their homes are swift,
But here the children stray,
And, in our fleeting lifetime, waft
To find the narrow way.

On him who by the altar stands,
On him the Spirit fall!
Speak through his lips thy pure commands,
Thou Heart that lovest all!

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(8) EMERSON TO WILLIAM MATHEWS, LONDON, APRIL 8, 1848. MS. owned by the present editor.

142 Strand
8 April. Evening

My dear Sir,

I saw Carlyle today & he promised to be at home to early tea on Tuesday Evening if we would come & see him. Will you not go—say, from this house at 7 o'clock—on that evening with me?

Yours faithfully,

R. W. Emerson.

[According to the endorsement on the manuscript, William Mathews was the father of B. St. John Attwood Mathews, Esq.]

(9) EMERSON TO WILLIAM ALLINGHAM, LONDON, JUNE 24, 1848. MS. owned by the present editor. A somewhat inadequate transcript of this letter was published in Letters to William Allingham, ed. H. Allingham and E. Baumer Williams, London, N.Y. etc., 1911, page 44.

London, 24 June, 1848.

My dear Sir,

I was very glad of your letter & verses though they came at a moment so busy for me that they could only cheer me but draw no reply. Henry Sutton too of Nottingham, an excellent youth, wrote to me almost on the same day concerning something of yours which he had read in Howitt. And I showed "the Pilot's daughter" to Coventry Patmore &

to Clough a good Oxonian who came to see me, & they both liked it well. The more lonely & barricaded round with walls of Fate you find yourself, the better omen for the future days so that only these passing days are made divine by obeying the Oracle. Our enemies are our best friends, is an experience of all observant men. I should gladly have seen you with eyes, & in these days of travel & revolution, that may yet happen. But your way is onward & upward, & I confide that we shall meet if that be best, as the old saints believed. At present, I am preparing to leave England on Saturday fortnight, or at most three weeks, from Liverpool. And in today's distractions can only acknowledge your kindness by these hurried lines.

In constant hope & regard,

R. W. Emerson

(10) EMERSON TO [? WILLIAM MATHEWS], LONDON, JULY 3, 1848. MS. owned by the present editor.

142 Strand
Monday 3 July

Dear Sir,

I am sorry to find that I shall not be able to join your pleasant party at dinner tomorrow in obedience to your kind invitation. I find my whole week disposed of by a few excursions to Cambridge to Salisbury, Winchester & other points, which I must not leave England without seeing. With grateful acknowledgments of your courtesy, & best wishes, I am

Yours respectfully,

R. W. Emerson.

(11) EMERSON TO WILLIAM MATHEWS, MANCHESTER, JULY 14, 1848. MS. owned by the present editor.

Manchester
14 July. 1848

My dear Sir,

I hoped until the last days of my stay in London that I should make Birmingham one stage, & stay over one train with you in my journey northward. But a sort of necessity of seeing Chatsworth, & one or two other points, and with a party, prevented me; and I came here last night, & go this morning to Liverpool, with the expectation of sailing in the steamer tomorrow, and now shall not see you until you come to make your American visit, which, I hope, is really no improbable contingency. Meantime, it is a serious regret to me not to see you & Mrs Mathews, once more; I had much to say to you. I am sorry too not to see Gill, & one or two other friends at Birmingham. I made a little journey with Carlyle to Stonehenge, Salisbury, & Winchester, which took three days instead of two, & so deranged my final plans, that I have missed you. With kindest regards to Mrs Mathews, I am

Your affectionate servant,

R. W. Emerson.

(12) EMERSON TO DR. WILLIAM NICHOLSON, LIVERPOOL, JULY 15, 1848. MS. owned by Charles E. Feinberg, Esq., 872 W. Boston Boulevard, Detroit 2, Michigan, a member of the Emerson Society. Details concerning Dr. William Nicholson and his brother, Dr. John Nicholson, will be found in Letters, IV, 100.

Liverpool 15 July 1848

Sir,

Mr Newman desired me to send you a letter or two to friends in the United States. I have been so much pressed with hasty visits, letter writing, & other duties of a departing traveller, that I was not able to do this at all in London, & have not now done it well. But I send you a note to my brother W. Emerson Esq., New York City, who knows all men whom I know there, & many more,
and one to Rev. Mr Furness, in Philadelphia, my best acquaintance, & really an excellent one, in that city.
But my hope of serving your brother, lies in his coming to me, at Concord, Massachusetts, which is only one hour's distance from Boston, on the Fitchburg rail road; (Give him, if you please, that direction, that he may not be misled into Concord, New Hampshire.)
It will give me great pleasure to obtain for him such information as Boston people can give him.

Yours respectfully

R. W. Emerson.

(13) EMERSON TO MRS. MARIANNE L. WELFORD, CONCORD, JUNE 28, 1849. MS. owned by the present editor. Mrs. Welford apparently received this letter in New York.

Concord, 28 June, 1849

My dear Mrs Welford,

I thank you heartily for your kind remembrance. Your friendliest thoughts only make me regret the more my few & short hours in New York, which did not allow any visits, not even my return to Mr Welford's store, which I had promised myself. I should very gladly have renewed our brief London acquaintance, & have learned your American experience, which I am curious to know,—& how the English home looks in the distance? I am rarely in your city, but shall not fail to see you—I hope—when I am there again.

With kind regards to Mr Welford,

Your obliged servant,

R. W. Emerson.

(14) EMERSON TO WILLIAM ALLINGHAM, CONCORD, JULY 14, 1851. MS. owned by the present editor. This

letter was badly edited in Letters to William Allingham, London, N.Y., etc., 1911, 44-46.

Concord Massachusetts
14 July 1851

My dear Sir,

I have not had such a cordial holiday for a long time as the receipt of your book of Poems made for me, now more than a month ago. I had been stung, every now & then, with compunctions for my letting drop the little correspondence with you, which made a joyful and affectionate episode, as I well remember, in my six months' residence in England, three years ago. But I had submitted to my bad habit, which has lost me, with yours, the correspondence of a little phalanx of benefactors, & I clung to my Silence, & wondered what indemnity it would ever bring to compensate for such losses. —But I am deeply gratified by the return of your friendly star on my horizon, and I, and all my friends here, have heartily enjoyed this new light. I have read all the poems with much interest. I found in them the old joy which makes us more debtors to Poetry than to anything else in life. "The Pilot's Daughter," which was my first acquaintance, is still a superior poem in my eyes. "The Music Master" has merits which cannot belong to a short poem; and "our Mountain Range," & the Burial Place," and the "Touchstone," are, for different reasons, prized. My friend W. E. Channing, a man who has more poetic genius than any one I know, though with some defects which have hitherto prevented him from writing a single good poem,—is charmed with the sea landscape that runs through them all, & he finds a volume of verses in one line,

"When, like a mighty fire, the bar roars
loud."

And Mr Thoreau also, a Stoic among the Muses, whose prose poem of "Concord & Merrimack Rivers," I fear has never reached Ireland,—rejoices in many of these pieces. The book has already passed from house to house, I read some of your pieces in our newspapers, & my copy departs this day to a valued friend at the foot of the Hoosac Mountains in this State. I am sorry I cannot manifest any gratitude beyond good reception. I am a tardy writer, & am now engaged in preparing with W. H. Channing, (not W. E. C.) a volume of memorials of the life of Margaret Fuller, a remarkable woman, & dearly valued friend of ours.

With thanks & with hopes,
Your affectionate servant,
R. W. Emerson.

William Allingham.

(15) EMERSON TO JOHN ALBEE, CONCORD, MAY 20, 1853. MS. owned by Prof. Samuel F. Morse of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. The quotation is from John Keble's "Morning" in The Christian Year. Cf. Journals, II, 504, and Revelation 21:5.

Concord 20 May 1853

My dear Sir,

I duly received your kind note, & "Herbert", & was reminded at once of my negligence in failing to acknowledge an earlier letter which had interested me much. I am glad you like these old books; or rather, glad that you, (like the authors of these old things,) have

"Eyes that the beam celestial view
Which evermore makes all things new"

There is a super-Cadmaean alphabet, which, when one has once learned the character, he will find, as it were, secretly inscribed,——look where he will,—not only in books & temples, but in all waste places, & in the dust of the earth. Happy he that can read it; for he will never be lonely or thoughtless again. And yet it is a solid pleasure to find those who know & like the same thing, the authors, namely, who have recorded their interpretation of the legend, &, better far, the living friends who read as we do, & compare notes with us. I gladly hear what you say of your new pleasures at Andover. If any thing in the way of book or thought occurs to you to write, do not fail to send it me; it may easily come to me, when I shall have somewhat to say.

R. W. Emerson

J. Albee

(16) EMERSON TO [? FRANCIS HALL OF ELMIRA, N.Y.], CONCORD, OCTOBER 7, 1853. MS. owned by the present editor. The recipient was almost certainly Francis Hall. See Letters, IV, 426.

Concord Mass. } 7 Oct. 1853

My dear Sir,

It would give me much pleasure to visit Elmira, if I can this winter. At present, I dare not promise it. But I think it not improbable I shall make a western visit late in the winter, & should it be so, I will try to apprize you of it in such season that you may keep a space open for me in your Course.

With great regard,
R. W. Emerson.

(17) EMERSON TO SAMUEL LONGFELLOW, CONCORD, OCTOBER, 24, 1855. MS. in the Longfellow House in Cambridge. Interesting because of its reference to Walt Whitman's "strange rude thing" in printing Emerson's famous letter in The Tribune.

Concord Oct. 24
Mass^tts 1855.

My dear Sir,

I am slow to answer, because

I hate to say No, to an invitation so agreeable. I am due at the Brooklyn Athenaeum on the 11 Dec[r] I believe; cannot well go before, &, immediately after, am the victim of distant Sarmatia or Illinois, nor do I see any day when I could certainly come to Brooklyn, earlier than the second or third week in February; which is a little late for prospering Courses. Another winter, I do not mean to go west; &, tis possible, you may command me for more seasonable service.

I am very glad that you are in communication with Whitman; of whom I have already heard something. He has done a strange rude thing in printing in the Tribune, I am told, my letter of thanks for his book.

Yours, with great regard,

R. W. Emerson

Rev. Mr Longfellow.

(18) EMERSON TO JAMES THOMAS FIELDS, BOSTON, MARCH 26, 1867. MS. owned by the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Fenway Court, Boston 15. For the year see Letters, V, 512.

Parker House
Tuesday night
26 Mar

My dear Sir,

Have no white paper whereon to say, that I have no keen edge now to publish, since looking again at the rhymes; but neither have I much resistance to withstand it. I go in the morning to Bowdoin College, & return next day, & will either see you or write more exactly.

Yours

R. W. Emerson

J. T. Fields, Esq

(19) EMERSON TO SAMUEL LONGFELLOW, CONCORD, JANUARY 28, [? 1868]. MS. owned by the Longfellow House, Cambridge, Mass. To arrive at the precise year is difficult. "Immortality" was delivered as follows:

Florence, Mass., Oct. 22, 1865 (Letters, V, 430)
Mattoon, Illinois, Dec. 15, 1867 (Letters, V, 543)
San Francisco, April 23, 1871 (Letters, VI, 149)
Quincy, Illinois, Dec. 3, 1871 (Letters, VI, 187)

Other possible years are 1870, 1871, 1872. He was usually away from Concord toward the end of most Januaries.

Concord, 28 January,

Dear Mr Longfellow,

Mr Potter writes me, that if I, who am to read a discourse before I know not well what Society, in Cambridge, on Thursday evening,—should want any direction or aid there, I may apply to you. I hope he is authorized to say so much, so I shall be to ask it. There are two things —each of some importance to me, first, that my manuscript should be well lighted for my old eyes; for I sometimes find immoveable gas burners two or three feet from the desk: & secondly, I desire not to be reported. I am to read a lecture "on "Immortality," long since written, but not yet finished, & which I hope in some good day to mend, &, in some sort, complete. And it did not occur to me, at first, that, at Cambridge, it would run that risk of what is falsely called a verbatim report. But I have lately been much annoyed by those scribes. There are parts of my lecture which I should wish to omit, if they come,—and indeed all of it. If you know that this enemy is there, & if you know how to dissuade or smother him, you will remove my only regret at having accepted the invitation, & greatly oblige

Yours, with great regard,

R. W. Emerson

Rev. S. Longfellow.

(20) EMERSON TO RICHARD HENRY DANA, CONCORD, FEBRUARY 24, 1870. MS. owned by the Longfellow House in Cambridge. According to the records of the Concord Lyceum, which I have been permitted to edit in a forthcoming work, Wendell Phillips spoke at Concord on February 23 on "Questions of Today." Emerson mentions this fact only to explain why he has been delayed in explaining to Dana his approval of a certain candidate for a possible post at Harvard. I do not here have access to the minutes and reports of the Harvard Trustees and Overseers and cannot, therefore, give certain details about the candidate or the issues. Emerson was "a little sorry to be undeceived." Harvard standards are reflected in this letter.

Concord, 24 February 1870

Dear Sir,

Only last evening's mail brought me your letter, dated 17th instant. Mr Phillips came at the same time to my house & filled the evening with his lecture & visit. I use my first freedom to say that in the moment referred to in your note I spoke only what was the impression of the moment. I admired the speech purely for its skill. I could not have thought until I heard it that so telling & effective an argument could be made on that side. But as it did not for an instant alter my convictions of the right course for all scholars to take in the government of the University, namely, to choose the most competent master in each department,—so only that he was an upright man,—and I think you disclaimed any doubts about the candidate on this score, I fancied that you felt professionally that something better than

any thing that had been offered was due on that side. And I am a little sorry to be undeceived. I must add that I know nothing personally of the candidate, & nothing of his ability beyond what was told us by his friends.

With great regard,

R. W. Emerson

R. H. Dana, Esq.

(21) EMERSON TO RICHARD D. WEBB, CONCORD, JANUARY 26, 1871. MS. owned by the present editor. According to Letters, VI, 144, Webb replied to R.W.E., writing from Dublin, Ireland, Feb. 11, 1871. Contact between Emerson and Webb existed as early as September 16, 1847. See the letter from Webb under that date in the files of RWEMA.

Concord Mass.tts 26 January 1871

My dear Sir,

I take the liberty of presuming on my very short personal acquaintance with you, at Mr Sargents house in Boston, (not forgetting a kind letter I once received from you, when I was in London,) & my long familiarity with your name & character, to ask your advice in directing me to a good lawyer, or other proper agent, in Dublin. Mr Charles Brown, once a merchant in Boston, Mass.tts, married the sister of my Wife. After some serious misfortunes in his business he went to Europe I think in the year 1832,—later to Constantinople, &, at last, to Dublin, where he lived for many years, engaged, I think, in some kind of brokerage, only maintaining himself, perhaps sometimes very poorly,— & died there, 23d May, 1870. His son, who is a farmer in Framingham, Mass.tts, did not learn the fact for months, & then, could not learn the needful particulars concerning his condition & affairs, for many months. Mr Charles Brown was a man of solitary habits & though affectionate was habitually silent in his correspondence with his family in regard to his affairs. His son & only heir cannot leave his farm & family to settle his father's affairs, &, though he has received from the ladies of the houses in which his father boarded, what information they could give it is not sufficiently accurate for the settlement of them. In these circumstances & in our entire ignorance of persons in your city, I have to ask you in his behalf that you will be so good as to confide our little affair to some judicious person in Dublin, who can ascertain the facts as to Mr Brown's debts & assets,—both very modest, it is probable,—& let him state them to his son, Mr Frank C. Browne, of Framingham, Mass.tts H will be, I doubt not, responsible, if the debts are not large, & I shall endeavor to aid him, if necessary, in their discharge; and if there be any assets, after these are paid, he will be glad to receive them. I ought to have mentioned that Mr C. Brown's wife died in this town three years ago.

I inclose a letter to me written by my legal adviser, J. B. Thayer, Esq. of Boston, indicating his views of the matter.

Regretting to give you this trouble on account of my friends, I remain

With great respect, yours,

R. W. Emerson

Richard Webb, Esq.

[WILLIAM]

(22) EMERSON TO ~~J. J.~~ LEIGHTON, CONCORD, FEBRUARY 26, 1871. MS. owned by the present editor. A glance at the Dictionary of National Biography, XXXIII, 7, will identify the poet, mentioned in this letter, as Robert Leighton (1822-1869), a Scottish versifier who died at Liverpool on May 10, 1869, following an accident in March, 1867. Thomas Bayne, the writer of the biographical sketch, refers to Robert's brother as WILLIAM, who had traveled in America and who received from Emerson this very letter, mentioning Robert's ability and worth. (RWEMA has unedited letters from W. Leighton, Jr., dated Nov. 10, 1877, and Dec. 6, 1880.) An enlarged edition of Poems by Robert Leighton appeared in 1866, the year in which Emerson says that [William] brought him a copy.

Concord
February 26 1871.

My dear Sir,

I learned with deep regret the death of your brother Robert Leighton. I had read with entire sympathy the volume of his Poems which you were so kind as to bring me in 1866, & which I then saw for the first time. I admired the purity & manliness of his thought & the deeply moral tone which dictated every verse. I did not know what years he had, or how long he had been in training for the attainment of such skill as a writer, but I could not help wishing a large audience & every genial help to a poet who stooped never from the truth & dignity of his thought, & whose popularity would honor those who gave it. I grieve to learn that his early death leaves his family without adequate support. And I shall rejoice to hear that his pure genius is so far appreciated in his country as to secure the honor of some public provision for his family.

Yours, with great regard,

R. Waldo Emerson

Mr J. J. Leighton.

(23) EMERSON TO AN UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT, WHO APPARENTLY HAD A SON NAMED "GARIBALDI." The date must be late summer, ca. 1872. MS. owned by the present editor. The letter is incomplete.

. . .

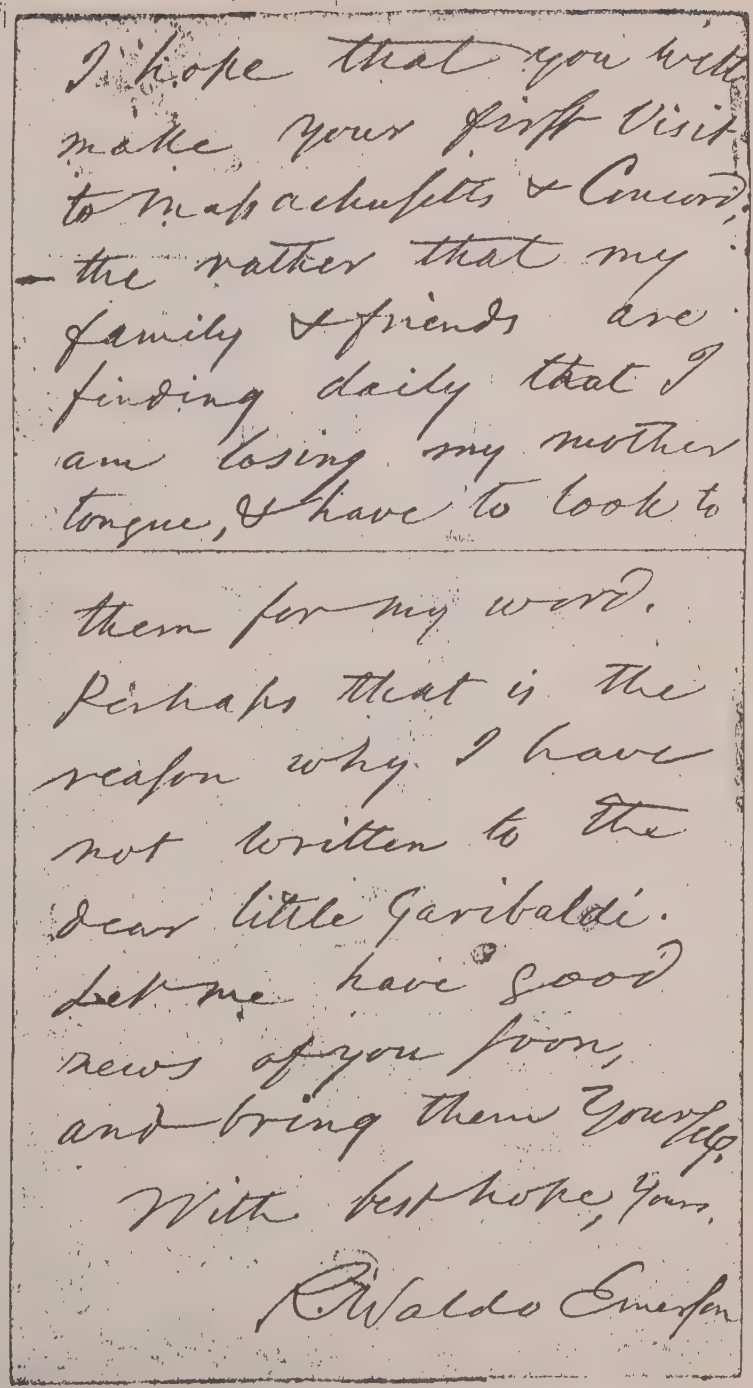
note hinted that som[e] new duties drew y[ou] away & now on m[y] return here from my annual visit to my daughter Mrs Forb[es] at their Island of Nausho[n]

. . .

I hope that you will make your first Visit to Massachusetts & Concord; —the rather that my family & friends are finding daily that I am losing my mother tongue, & have to look to them for my word. Perhaps that is the reason why I have not written to the dear little Garibaldi. Let me have good news of you soon. and bring them Yourself.

With best hope, Yours,

R. Waldo Emerson


I hope that you will make your first Visit to Massachusetts & Concord; —the rather that my family & friends are finding daily that I am losing my mother tongue, & have to look to them for my word. Perhaps that is the reason why I have not written to the dear little Garibaldi. Let me have good news of you soon, and bring them Yourself.

With best hope, Yours,

R. Waldo Emerson

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Permission to publish the letters edited above was received from their respective owners and from Edward W. Forbes, Esq., President of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association (RWEMA). Special thanks are due Thomas H. de Valcourt, custodian of the Longfellow (Craigie) House, 105 Brattle Street, Cambridge, a member of the Emerson Society, for so kindly bringing to my attention the important manuscripts in "Castle Craigie."]

NOTES, QUERIES AND INTERESTING NEWS

Professor James Woodress, in his article on "American Writers and the Professor," College English, XVIII, no. 4 (January, 1957), pages 218-221, wrote in part as follows:

"Who are the most popular American writers among the men and women best qualified to judge? Writers, critics, booksellers, and librarians have been polled, but there is one pivotal group of modest opinion-makers yet unreported: those who teach American literature from the college sophomore survey through the graduate seminar. Professors, it may surprise some to learn, like Faulkner twice as well as Hemingway, admire T. S. Eliot almost as much as both novelists combined, and for sixty years have generated a greater head of steam over Ralph Waldo Emerson than over any other literary figure from John Smith to John Steinbeck....

"For an extracurricular activity, I serve the American Literature Group of the MLA as bibliographer, in which capacity I recently compiled a list of all doctoral dissertations ever written anywhere in American literature. In this tabulation of 2,500 European and American theses lurk some fascinating facts—data illustrating trends and movements in literary fashion and data documenting the obvious importance of the U. S. in the atomic age....

"Although Emerson is top dog in this compilation with 79 titles, Henry James trails by a margin of only one. This fact may not surprise editors, publishers, and teachers, but James's popularity never ceases to puzzle sophomores as they labor through "The Death of the Lion" in their survey courses. There is no question that James in another five years will forge far ahead. There have been 37 theses completed on him since 1950, and with an added 13 projects now in progress, there is no sign of a slackening off. Publishers who have James titles on their lists will do well to keep them in print. Emerson, on the other hand, is declining in popularity, having attracted only 18 thesis-writers in the past half decade."

Your editor has presented to the Yale University Library the following corner of his Emerson collection:

1-7) Seven copies of Emerson's Nature, first edition, Boston, 1836.

8) Manuscript lecture by the English poet, Henry Septimus Sutton (1825-1901) on his friendship with Emerson, on Emerson's remarks in England in 1847, on Thoreau, etc.

9) Emerson's Poems, Boston, 1847. Presentation copy to Henry Sutton. This copy circulated among the younger English poets who, by its help, corrected their faultily printed English editions.

10) Emerson Birthday-Book, Boston, 1881. This volume was purchased by a British pilgrim to America during the last year of Emerson's life, was carried to Concord and inscribed by Emerson in August. The failing poet wrote "Auoust." The volume was carried back to England and now contains signatures of a number of British citizens, among them Stopford A. Brook.

[The foregoing "Notes" are continued on page 53, column 2, bottom, to which please turn.]

THOREAU AND BARZILLAI FROST

By THE EDITOR

I have elsewhere called attention to Thoreau's attitude toward the Rev. Barzillai Frost, of Concord, in setting forth the circumstances under which Emerson wrote "The Problem."[1] Both Frost and H.D.T. were active in the life of the Concord Lyceum[2] and cooperated as citizens at least in that project, keeping a respectful distance in religious affairs. Thoreau first knew Frost at Harvard, where, in 1833, Barzillai was proctor to undergraduates while pursuing his studies as a middler in the Divinity School. During Thoreau's sophomore year, Frost was "proctor, and instructer in history"—at the same time bringing his course at Divinity College to a close. (I have found no evidence of Thoreau's having studied history under him.) Both men shared some interests and certain friendships, it appears, for that is the implication of James Richardson's letter to Thoreau, dated September 7, 1837, seven months after Frost had been ordained in Concord to assist Ezra Ripley:

> I hear that you are comfortably located, in your native town, as the guardian of its children, in the immediate vicinity, I suppose, of one of our most distinguished apostles of the future, R. W. Emerson, and situated under the ministry of our old friend Reverend Barzillai Frost, to whom please make my remembrances.[3]

Frost's active ministry and somewhat tragic life have been discussed effectively by Professor Conrad Wright, and I need not repeat details here.[4] Thoreau illuminates the intellectual and religious gulf between himself and the clergyman in two passages from his Journal, the first of which he writes on the day following Mrs. E. Oakes Smith's address before the Concord Lyceum on "Womanhood":[5] "Mr. Frost did not like Mrs. S——'s lecture last night; did not like what she said about the clergy. Said it was too transcendental for him. This is the profane swearing of such men." On January 26, 1852, Thoreau writes once more:[6]

> Foster's[7] success is in reaching such men as Houghton, Goodwin, Rice, McKean, Pratt, E. Hubbard, S. Barrett, and others...some of whom are men of sterling worth and probity, the salt of the earth, and confessedly the very best of our citizens, though the Church may have called them infidels. They were only more faithful than the rest.... I do not know more honest or trustworthy men than Rice, Pratt, Barrett, McKean, etc. Frost and Anger [? Angier] might preach forever; they would never reach these men.

It is interesting to note, however, that when Frost prepared his will on February 4, 1856, he turned to H.D.T. and John Thoreau, Sr., to witness it.[8]

I, Barzillai Frost of Concord in the County of Middlesex & Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Clerk, being impaired in health, but of sound mind & memory, and being about to commence a voyage at sea, do make, pronounce and declare this to be my last will & testament.

Having full confidence in the sound judgement & discretion of my beloved wife Elmira Frost, I give and bequeath to her the said Elmira all my estate, both real & personal, consisting principally of the house & lot of land on which we live, one share of the capital stock in the Concord Bank, one share in the Fitchburg Rail Road, four shares in the stock of the Nashua Rail Road, household furniture & library, to have & to hold to her the said Elmira, the said real estate to her, her heirs & assigns in fee simple, & the personal property to her, her Executors and Administrators forever.

To my two beloved sons Henry Th. Frost & Alfred B. Frost I give no property because, considering their ages respectively & the other circumstances of the family I do not think that it would be so advantageous to them as to do what I now do.

I nominate & appoint my said wife sole Executrix of this my last will & testament, & to be guardian of my said two sons.

I hereby revoke all former wills by me made

In testimony whereof I hereto set my hand & seal this fourth day of February A. D. eighteen hundred & fifty six.

Barzillai Frost

Signed, sealed, published, pronounced & declared by said Barzillai Frost to be his last will & testament in presence of us, who at his request & in his presence & each other have hereto set our names as witnesses. All done in presence of each other.

a. Samuel Hoar
2 John Thoreau
h Henry D. Thoreau

Frost died on December 8, 1858. His will was probated on January 11, 1859, Thoreau being the sole survivor of the original witnesses. He mentioned the circumstances in a letter to Daniel Ricketson at New Bedford:[9] "How swiftly at last, but unnoticed, a generation passes away! Three years ago I was called with my father to be a witness to the signing of our neighbor Mr. Frost's will. Mr. Samuel Hoar, who was there writing it, also signed it. I was lately required to go to Cambridge to testify to the genuineness of the will, being the only one of the four who could be there, and now I am the only one alive." Thoreau must have stayed overnight in Cambridge to assist Mrs. Frost, for on the day following the probating (January 12, 1859) the Court appointed him "Guardian ad litem" of young Henry W. Frost, Barzillai's surviving son, who was still a minor:

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

MIDDLESEX ss.

In Probate Court held at Cambridge in said County, on the second Tues day of January A. D. 1859.

In the matter of the Probate of the last will and Testament of Barzillai Frost late of Concord deceased.

It appearing to said Court that Henry W. Frost, a child of Barzillai Frost late of Concord in said County, deceased, is a minor, and interested in said case, and having no legal Guardian. I do hereby appoint Henry D. Thoreau of Concord in said County, to be Guardian *ad litem*, to appear and act for said minor, and to give or withhold his consent in the above-mentioned case.

William A. Richardson { Judge of Probate and Insolvency.

Being all the persons interested in the within will, Whereby assent to the Probate of the within instrument, the within named Alfred B. Frost having died before the testator.

Elmira Frost.

(Guardian ad litem) Henry D. Thoreau

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

MIDDLESEX ss. *At a Court of Probate holden at* Cambridge *in and for said County, on the* eleventh *day of* January *in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-*nine.

THE foregoing instrument, purporting to be the last will and testament of Barzillai Frost late of Concord in said County of Middlesex, Clerk, deceased, having been duly presented for probate to the Judge of said Court, by Elmira Frost

the executrix therein named; and the heirs at law and legatees of said deceased, and others interested in said estate, having been ~~cited and~~ duly notified of the time and place assigned for taking the same into consideration, and Henry D. Thoreau one

credible witness thereto, now appears before the Judge of said Court and makes oath that he saw the said testator sign, seal, and heard him pronounce, publish, and declare the said instrument to be his last will and testament and that he with Samuel Hoar and John Thoreau two other credible witnesses then also present, who are now absent, at the same time attested the same, and subscribed their names together as witnesses in the presence of the said testator and at his request, and that he was then, according to the best of their discernment, of sane mind and sound and disposing memory. Whereupon, no objections being offered, and the evidence touching the premises maturely considered, and all needful inquiries made, it appears to the Judge of said Court that the said instrument is proved, and ought to be allowed as the last will and testament of said deceased. It is therefore DECREED by the said Judge, that the same be approved, allowed, established, and recorded, and have full force and effect, as such accordingly, and that the execution thereof be committed, and the administration of the estate of said deceased granted to the executrix above named, in manner and form by law in such case made and provided.

William A. Richardson *Judge of Probate and Insolvency.*

Countersigned,

A. [illegible] *Reg.*

1 See my "Emerson, Thoreau, Parson Frost, and 'The Problem,'" Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 6 (I Quarter 1957), p. 16; and my The Transcendentalists and Minerva, (3 vols.), Hartford, 1958, I, 284.
2 Its records I am currently editing as part of a forthcoming work, Transcendental Climate, volume two of which has been printed but not yet published. See The Writings of Henry David Thoreau, (Walden ed.), Boston & N.Y., [1906], VI, page 10.
3 The Writings, (Walden ed.), VI, page 137.
4 See C. Conrad Wright, "Emerson, Barzillai Frost, and the Divinity School Address," Harvard Theological Review, XLIX, no. 1, (Jan., 1956), pp. 19-43.
5 See Journal, III, 171 (January 1, 1852). Mrs. Smith spoke on December 31, 1851.
6 Journal, III, 230. 7 The Rev. Daniel Foster.
8 In the Probate Registry for Middlesex County, Massachusetts, at East Cambridge. This document and the others mentioned here were kindly called to my attention by Professor C. Conrad Wright, lecturer in the Harvard Divinity School.
9 The Writings, (Walden ed.), VI, 351-352. Also in Daniel Ricketson and his Friends: Letters, Poems, Sketches etc., ed. by his daughter and son, Anna and Walton Ricketson, Boston & N.Y., 1902, pp. 92-93.

JONES VERY AND THE EMERSONS IN HARVARD'S OFFICIAL RECORDS

By THE EDITOR

The following resources for the research scholar are available in the Harvard University Archives, the curator of which is Dr. Clifford K. Shipton. Of course, only serious researchers, well recommended, are given permission to edit them.

CHARLES CHAUNCY EMERSON (H.U. 1828)

[College Papers, 2nd Series, Vol. III:] Won a first premium for Bowdoin Prize dissertation, July 9, 1828, 60. Desires the Prize in money and not a medal, 68. Paid Bowdoin Prize, $30.00, 118. [Vol. IV:] Voted on Jan. 18, 1827, a sum from the legacy of Madam Mary Saltonstall--mentioned in letter of Dr. John Pierce, 25 Dec. 1829, 26. Mentioned, 49. Paid for instruction in Intellectual Philosophy, 192.

[Overseers' Records:] Vol. VII: Voted 1/2 income from Madam Saltonstall's donation, 337. Vol. VIII: Voted LL.B. degree in 1832, 115.

[Corporation Papers, UA-I, v. 130] 1828, March 3, Request for beneficiary aid (with papers of 1825). 1826, Sept. 1. Receipt for Boylston Prize for Elocution, $15. 1832, Aug. 29. Voted LL.B. degree. Concurred.

[Faculty Records, vol. X:] Assigned part in exhibition, 123, 146, 148; assigned part at Commencement, 179; awarded Detur: Smith's Moral Sentiments, 181.

EDWARD BLISS EMERSON (H.U. 1824)

[Corporation Papers, UA-I, v. 120] 1823, Exhibition, $60.

[College Papers, 2nd Series, Vol. II:] From Concord, accepts appointment to deliver oration, 12. Letter of July 12, 1827, declining tutorship, 36.

[Faculty Records, vol. IX:] Admitted to the Freshman Class from Boston, aged 15, April 27, 1820, 310. Instructor was Mr. Gould, 310. [vol. X:] assigned part at exhibition, 45, 61. Assigned Commencement part, 74.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON (H.U. 1821)

[Overseers' Records:] Vol. VI: Recommended to receive $60. legacy of Madam Saltonstall, 264. Vol. VII: Voted A.M. degree in 1827, out of course, 385. Vol. VIII: On Committee to examine students, 143, 216, 237, 347. Received 1 vote for Overseer (name not on list), 411. Mentioned, 414. Vol. X: Voted honorary LL.D. degree 1866, 175. Concurred, 177. Present at meetings: 236, 243, 259, 283, 292, 298, 310, 326, 333, 351, 357, 374, 384, 439. On Committee: 238, 247 (twice mentioned), 276, 277, 299, 311, 335, 339, 363, 370, 376, 423, 435 (twice mentioned), 440, 444. Elected Overseer, 241. Chairman, 300, 304, 314, 370, 378, 447. Appointed University Lecturer in Philosophy, 343. Concurred, 343. Appointed University Lecturer on Natural History of Intellect, 395. Vol. XI: Present 1, 7, 17, 91, 97, 115, 122, 135, 159, 184, 188, 199, 202, 210, 214, 253, 267, 281, 301, 310, 355. On Committee: 9, 64, 76, 121, 126, 128, 133, 163, 165, 183, 206, 208, 258, 261, 305, 307, 340, 343, 359, 380, 382, 419, 422. Elected Overseer, 116. Submits resolution, 134. Presents resignation, which is withdrawn at request, 147. Signed report, 137. Chairman, 186, 188, 213. Voted aye on admission of women to the Medical School, 361.

[Faculty Records, vol. IX:] Appointed temporary waiter, 175. Assigned part in exhibition, 248. Assigned part at Commencement, 274. Admitted to the Freshman Class from Boston at age 14, May 25, 1817, 121. His instructor was Mr. Gould, 121.

[College Papers, 2nd Series, vol. IV:] Voted 5 Nov. 1817, $60. from legacy of Madam Mary Saltonstall. Mentioned in letter of Dr. John Pierce, 25 Dec., 1829, 26. Mentioned, 49. [vol. XIII] Request to Corporation 25 June 1846, for the privilege of borrowing books from the College Library, 332, 333. Granted by vote of the Corporation, 26 June, 1846, 333. [vol. XVII] Mentioned, 263. [vol. XXIV] Mentioned in letter of Martyn W. Willis, May 8, 1857, 176. Letter to the Corporation May 9, 1857, in behalf of Martyn W. Willis, 177-178.

[Corporation Papers, UA-I, v. 120] 1819--Exhibitions--Thomas Hollis--$16.08. State. $9.92: Total, $26.

[Sibley's Private Journal:] Emerson and aid for Kansas, 391; bust of, 701; oration by, 772; on Library Committee, 1018; reads paper on death of Carlyle, 1144; death of, 1167.

JONES VERY (H.U. 1836)

[College Papers, 2nd Series, Vol. VI:] Signed petition of the Sophomore Class against the system of rank, 113. [Vol. VII] Awarded First Prize for Bowdoin Prize Dissertations, 1835. Report of President Quincy, 236. To receive the income of Madam Saltonstall's legacy. Mentioned in report of Pres.

Quincy, Feb. 18, 1836, 257. [Vol. VIII] On Steward's list of candidates for an A.B. degree, Aug. 31, 1836, 27. Salary as Tutor, 89, 127, 174, 238, 276, 306. Mentioned as tutor in Greek in report of Pres. Quincy to the Overseers, 114. [Vol. IX] Salary per qr., 15, 82, 140. Salary per annum, 48.

[Overseers' Records, vol. VIII:] Nominated for income of Madam Saltonstall's Legacy, 231. Appointed tutor in Greek, 254; concurred, 257. Mentioned 297.

[Faculty Records, vol. XI:] Considered among the dismissed Sophomores, 150. Admitted to re-examination, 179. Admitted to the Junior Class on probation, 184. Matriculated, 210. Assigned part in exhibition, 222, 239, 263. Recommended to receive the income of the Mary Saltonstall donation, 250. Assigned Commencement part, 281.

HARVARD RECORDS OF THOREAU'S CLOSEST COLLEGE FRIENDS

By THE EDITOR

The following records are in the Harvard University Archives, subject to the same rules mentioned in the preceding article:

WILLIAM ALLEN

[Faculty Records, vol. XI] Appointed college Freshman, 120. Matriculated, 125. Recommended to study geometry in vacation, 127. Awarded Detur, 221. Recommended for a degree, 318-319.

[Sibley's Private Journal] p. 1007.

AUGUSTUS GODDARD PEABODY

[Faculty Records, vol. XI] Matriculated, 125. Recommended to study geometry over vacation, 127; required to study during summer vacation and be examined, 241. Privately admonished for absences from recitations, 254. Required to study astronomy in vacation and be examined, because of great negligence in the study, 298. Recommended for a degree, 318-319.

CHARLES WYATT RICE

[Faculty Records, vol. XI] Matriculated, 125. Granted leave of absence to keep school, 207, 297, 313. Awarded Detur, 221-222. Assigned part in exhibition, 263, 308. Publicly admonished for excessive absences from prayers and recitations, 273. Referred to the President for wearing a coat of an improper colour on Sunday, and warned, 312; assigned Commencement part, 316. Recommended for a degree, 318-319. The Commencement Part and the Exhibition parts survive.

JAMES RICHARDSON

[Faculty Records, vol. XI] Matriculated, 125. Recommended to study geometry in vacation, 127. Privately admonished for excessive absences from recitations, 224. Father recommended to remove son from college, 241. Directed to study logic and put on special probation, 244. Allowed to be absent from morning prayers and recitations, 248. Privately admonished for disorderly conduct in University Hall, 259. Publicly admonished for repeated misconduct at prayers and put on special probation, 261. Publicly admonished for gross impropriety of conduct in recitation, 297. Publicly admonished for excessive absences from prayers and recitations, 312. Recommended for a degree, 318-319.

CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL

[Overseers' Records, vol. VIII] Appointed Proctor, 297; concurred, 305. Resigned, 324. [vol. IX] Chairman, 304.

[Sibley's Private Journal:] Entertains, 876; mentioned, 988.

[Faculty Records, vol. XI] Matriculated, 125. Granted leave of absence for nine weeks to keep school, 206. Awarded Detur, 221-222. Assigned part in exhibition, 239, 283, 308. Privately admonished for repeated noise in his room by the President, 253-254. Privately admonished for grouping in the college yard, 282. Assigned a Commencement part, 316. Recommended for a degree, 318-319.

HENRY VOSE

[Faculty Records, vol. XI] Matriculated, 125. Recommended to study geometry in vacation, 127. Awarded Detur, 221-222. Assigned a part in exhibition, 263, 283. Privately admonished for excessive absences during prayers, 307. Assigned Commencement part, 316. Recommended for a degree, 318-319. His Commencement Conference, an Exhibition Part, and a Latin dialogue are extant.

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER

[Faculty Records, vol. XI] Matriculated, 125. To be reexamined for noise at Chapel, 161. Refused, and a motion to reconsider the vote was negatived, 161. Agrees to testify if Giles H. Whitney is reexamined, 170. Appointed monitor of the Freshman Class, 206. Awarded Detur, 221-222. Assigned part in exhibition, 231, 284, 308. Solemnly warned by the President for having a disorderly room, 232A. Referred to the President for wearing a brown coat on Sunday, 290. Recommended for the Alford beneficiary money, 305. Assigned Commencement part, 316. Recommended for a degree, 318-319. Window of his room, No. 21 Massachusetts Hall, broken, 360. Pew No. 9 assigned to him, 368. Exhibition and Commencement parts extant. Bowdoin Prize Essay extant.

[Overseers' Records, vol. VIII] Voted income from legacy of Madam Saltonstall, 247. Appointed Proctor, 297. Appointed Tutor in Greek and Instructor in History, 297. Concurred, 305. Re-appointed Tutor, 340. Concurred, 342. Re-appointed tutor, 369. Concurred, 370. Registrar, 374.

The College Reading Records of these men appear in The Transcendentalists and Minerva, vol. I, pp. 90-129.

For biographical details, see Memorials of the Class of 1837 of Harvard University. Prepared for the Fiftieth Anniversary of their Graduation. By Henry Williams. Boston, 1887.

Important details appear in Christian P. Gruber, The Education of Henry Thoreau, Harvard 1833-1837 (A

dissertation for the Ph.D. at Princeton, approved October, 1953.) Available as Publication 8077, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan:

A. G. Peabody, pages 61-62.
Charles W. Rice, pages 62-64.
James Richardson, pages 71-75.
Charles T. Russell, pages 69-71.

CHARLES CHAUNCY EMERSON'S LIBRARY

By THE EDITOR

Some of the documents dealing with the estate of Charles Chauncy Emerson, of which R.W.E. was Executor, are exhibited in the preliminary pages of Volume I of The Transcendentalists and Minerva. Here I give the inventory of his estate, which lists a six-volume edition of Molière, a twelve-volume set of Gibbon, one Atlas, the five-volume Eloquence of the United States, five volumes of the Edinburgh Review besides 129 other books. Reference is made to a two-volume Euripides, which later proved to have been borrowed from someone.

The remainder of the inventory speaks for itself, though I should, perhaps, call attention to the fact that Charles owned a "church organ" valued at $300. Was he a musician? Did any of the other Emersons know how to play such an instrument? Did the Emersons have an "ear" for music—a good ear? The first section of the inventory reflects the student and professional man.

[These documents are in the Probate Registry at East Cambridge.]

Inventory of the estate of Charles C. Emerson deceased, taken under oath by us whose names are thereunto subscribed, 19 August 1836.

1 Church Organ $300 1 Bedstead & Bedding 35.	$335.00
1 Bureau 3.00 1 Writing desk & contents 3.00	6.00
1 Silver Watch 16.00 2 Study Lamps 1.50	17.50
1 Umbrella 1.00 1 carpet bag 2.00 1 Book case 1.25	4.25
1 Portable desk 1.50 1 Mahogany Table 3.00	4.50
1 umbrella .50 oil jug & Lamp filler 1.00	1.50
Ink stand, small globe, sand box, dividers, wafer &c	2.00
1 round Table & cover 2.50 1 old Book case 25	2.75
Clothing— 1 camlet cloak 5.00 1 Pair do. 3.00	8.00
1 quat coat (cloth) 10. 3 cloth coats 18.00	28.00
4 pr cloth pants 10.00 3 cloth waistcoats 5.00	15.00
1 Surtout 5.00 1 thick summer clothing 7.50	12.50
1 short coat 4 pr pants, 6 waistcoats (sick, capeins, &c).	9.00
1 doz pr socks, cotton thread &c ½ doz pr flannel socks	1.50
½ doz pr sick [illegible] Gloves 1.50 1 doz shirts 10.	11.50
8 cambric cravats 1.50 7 pocket handkfs 1.50 1 Madras do. 17	3.17
2 pr kid gloves 50 1 fur cap 5.00 1 pr drawers, linen &c 1.50	7.00
Flannel vest .75 dressing Gown &c 1.00	1.75
cash due from Barnard, Adams & Co	357.00
Library— 6 vol. Molière 1.20 12 Gibbon 12.00	24.00
2 vol. Euripides 1.50 123 vol. Books 25.00	26.50
1 Atlas 2.50 5 vol Eloquence of U. S. 2.50	5.00
5 vol Ed. Review 2.00 6 vol. Books 1.50	3.50
	881.92

August 19. 1836.

Nathan Brooks
Moses Richards } appraisers
Phineas Hosmer

Middlesex ss. April 11th A. D. 18 37

The foregoing Inventory having been duly exhibited by Ralph W. Emerson the admr of the estate of said Dec'd amounting ~~(in real estate to dollars, and)~~ in personal estate to Eight Hundred & eighty six dollars and ninety two cents, and the said admr having made oath that the same is a true and perfect Inventory of all the estate of said Deceased that has come to his possession or knowledge, it is ordered that the same be accepted and filed, and this decree thereon together with the warrant recorded.

S. P. P. Fay **J. Prob.**

MEMORABILIA OF RUTH EMERSON By THE EDITOR

Know all men by these presents, that we

Ralph W. Emerson of Concord in the County of Middlesex & William in the County of Essex of the City, County & State of Georgia as principals, & John M. Cheney and Edmund Hosmer of Concord in said County as sureties, and all within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, except said William Emerson are holden and stand firmly bound and obliged unto S. P. P. Fay, Esq., Judge of the Probate Court in and for the County of Middlesex, in the full and just sum of Seven thousand dollars, to be paid to the said

S. P. P. Fay, Esq., and his successors in said office; to the true payment whereof we do bind ourselves and each of us, our and each of our heirs, executors, and administrators, jointly and severally, by these presents. Sealed with our seals. Dated this Eleventh day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty four.

The condition of this obligation is such, that whereas the above-bounden Ralph N. Emerson & William Emerson have this day taken upon themselves the trust of executors of the last will and testament of Ruth Emerson late of Concord in said county of Middlesex, Widow deceased, testate, and being residuary legatees in said will, have undertaken to pay all the debts and legacies of said testatrix.

Now therefore if the said executors or their heirs, executors, or administrators, or any or either of them, do well and truly pay or cause to be paid all the just debts and legacies of said testatrix and in all matters the same concerning faithfully fulfil the said testatrix's will and administer her estate according thereunto and render an account of their proceedings thereupon when thereunto lawfully required; then the above written obligation to be void; otherwise to remain in full force.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of

W. W. Richard
Wm. Emerson
E. M. Brooks
A. M. Davis

Wm. Emerson
R. Waldo Emerson
John M. Keyes
Edmund Hoar

Middlesex, ss. April 11th **A. D. 185 4.**

The above bond is this day examined and approved by

E. H. Bell **J. Prob.**

Be it remembered that I, Ruth Emerson of Concord in the County of Middlesex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do, on this twenty-seventh day of November, in the year Eighteen hundred & Fifty two make, publish and declare this my last Will & Testament, in Manner & form as Follows. To wit—

1. I direct my Executors hereinafter named, to cause my Earthly remains to be interred in the Town of Concord, in Such Tomb as may be owned by my son Ralph Waldo Emerson; but if he should not be seasonably possessed of such Tomb, I wish my remains to be placed in my late Father's tomb in Boston.

2. I give to my Sisters Elizabeth and Fanny my wardrobe to be divided between them as they may choose. I also give to each of them during her life thirty three dollars annually, to be paid to them by my Executors.

3. I give my Watch to my Grandson Edward; The few articles of Silver belonging to me I give to my sons William and Ralph Waldo; the Articles of furniture belonging to me, I give to my Son Waldo; My portrait, in Boston, to my Son William; My books, to be divided between my two Granddaughters, Ellen & Edith; Excepting one to Each of my three Grandsons, William, John Haven, and Charles, which I leave marked with their names respectively, and my testament and hymn book to my son Robert Bulkley—

4. I give to Susan Haven Emerson, Lidian Jackson Emerson and Elizabeth Hoar, whom I look upon as my daughters Ten dollars each, to buy a ring or other ornaments. Also Fifteen dollars to My Sister Mary Moody Emerson, Twenty dollars to my niece Charlotte F. Haskins. Ten dollars Each to Mrs Hannah Upham Parsons and to Phebe Bliss Ripley for a like purpose.

5. I request my Executors hereinafter named to give Ten dollars to Mrs Mary Harrod Hewes now residing in New York. I also request them to have a copy made of the profile of my Elder Son John Clark Emerson and to give it to his faithful Nurse Patty Upham—

6. I give, bequeath and devise all the rest, residue and remainder of my Estate real and personal to my Sons William and Ralph Waldo, to hold to them their heirs and assigns forever, Well Knowing that they will continue to take care of their brother Robert Bulkley—

7. I appoint my Sons William and Ralph Waldo, Executors of this my last Will—

In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand & Seal the day and year first herein written—

Ruth Emerson

Signed, Sealed, published and declared by the Testatrix Ruth Emerson as and for her last Will and testament in presence of us, Who at her request and in her presence, And in the presence of Each other have hereunto affixed our Names as Witness—

G. E. & W. C. Brooks a
Lucy E. Browne. s
Mary Lenchare a

Her prayer book is now in Emerson's library. Autographed: "Ruth Haskins her book 1786 given her by her father." "R. Waldo Emerson." (The book was rebound in 1879.)

Book of Common Prayer...according to the Use of the Church of England: together with the Psalter or Psalms of David. Cambridge, J. Archdeacon, printer to the University, 1781.

John L. Cooley, Esq., an editor of Banking, 12 East 36th Street, New York 16, has a manuscript "Prayer" written by Ruth Haskins in her early teens.

[Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham wrote her obituary, "Madame Ruth Emerson," in the Christian Examiner, LVI, 163-164 (January, 1854).]

RUTH EMERSON, *née* HASKINS, THE MOTHER OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

"A woman of great sensibility, modest, serene, and very devout. . . Both her mind and her character were of a superior order, and they set their stamp upon manners of peculiar softness and natural grace and quiet dignity. Her sensible and kindly speech was always as good as the best instruction, her smile, though it was ever ready, was a reward. Her dark, liquid eyes, from which old age did not take away the expression, were among the remembrances of all on whom they ever rested."

(Reproduced from "Ralph Waldo Emerson: His Maternal Ancestors," by D. G. Haskins: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

Recent

EMERSON BIBLIOGRAPHY

By THE EDITOR

(PLEASE SEND US ITEMS WE MAY HAVE MISSED.)

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HEDGES, WILLIAM L. "A Short Way Around Emerson's Nature," Transactions Wisconsin Academy, XLIV, pp. 21-27 (1956).

HOWARD, WILLIAM. "Clough's 'Say Not the Struggle Naught Availeth,'" Explicator, XV, no. 6 (March, 1957), p. 39. (Clough's poem is the probable answer to Arnold's "Dover Beach." The looking westward as opposed to Europe and the Aegean [as in Arnold] seems to reflect Clough's hope for America and especially for the America of Emerson, whom he had met on many occasions just before the poem was composed.)

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pp. 313-319.

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editor: Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson (Riverside Editions, published by the Houghton Mifflin Company), Boston, 1957. (This anthology in so many ways leads all others on the current book market. It will be reviewed in Issue No. 13 by Professor Carl F. Strauch of Lehigh.)

NOTES, QUERIES AND INTERESTING NEWS. (Continued from page 42, column 2.)

11) Stael-Holstein, Madame: The Influence of Literature upon Society. (From the 2nd London edition), Boston, 1813, Volume II. This copy was formerly owned by the Shakspeare Circulating Library of Boston. Inscribed by Mary Moody Emerson, who intended to present it to Mr. Levi Norwood, but changed her mind in favor of Ann L. Gage. One of M.M.E's favorite passages from Thomas Moore is inscribed on the fly leaf.

12) Stael-Holstein, Madame: Germany. Tr. from the French. (3 vols. in 2) N.Y., 1814. Vol. I only. Inscribed by Mary Moody Emerson. Intending that R.W.E. should have it after her death, in 1830 she wrote on the fly leaf: "Will Rev. R Waldo Emerson accept this old book in token of the gratitude & affection of one whose oddities are past--whose affections yet live & may be conscious of their earthy objects."

13) Ratcliffe, Ann: The Mysteries of Udolpho. (3 vols.) Boston, 1795. Vols. II and III. Book plate of R.W.E's father. Autographed M.M.E.